The Rt Honble Lord Gray

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Hans N. Spencer
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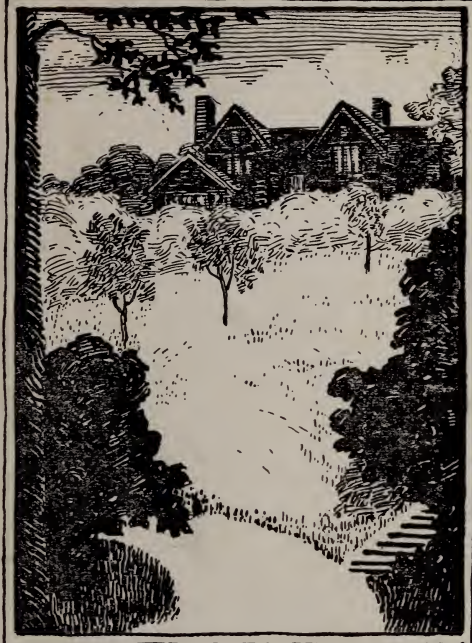

EDWIN STANTON FICKES
– HIS BOOK –
A.B.C.

Lucan

A TOUR IN THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA:

CONTAINING

An Account of the PRESENT SITUATION of that Country;

The POPULATION, AGRICULTURE, COMMERCE, CUSTOMS, and MANNERS of the Inhabitants;

ANECDOTES of ſeveral MEMBERS of the CONGRESS, and GENERAL OFFICERS in the American Army;

AND

Many other very ſingular and intereſting Occurrences.

WITH

A Deſcription of the INDIAN NATIONS, the general Face of the Country, Mountains, Foreſts, Rivers, and the moſt beautiful, grand, and picturesque Views throughout that vaſt Continent.

LIKEWISE

Improvements in HUSBANDRY that may be adopted with great Advantage in EUROPE.

By J. F. D. SMYTH, Esq.

VOL. II.

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A

TOUR

IN THE

UNITED STATES OF AMERICA.

CHAP. XLIX.

Remarkable Places, Rivers, Bays, &c. Great Extent of the Rivers. Harbours. Beautiful Country and Coaſt. Choctaw Nation, or Flat-headed Indians. Their Diſpoſition. The Manner they flatten their Heads. Number of Inhabitants in Weſt Florida. Prodigious Fertility of the Soil. Diſtances of Places.

TO return to Weſt Florida on the eaſtern ſide of the Miſſiſſippi, after this long digreſſion on the weſt, at the concluſion of the firſt volume, it may not be improper to mention moſt of the remarkable places, rivers, bays, &c. beginning at Apalachicola River, being the eaſtern boundary of the province.

The Apalachicola derives its ſource, in the province of South Carolina, near the heads

of the rivers Alatamaha, Savannah, Santee, and Cherokee or Holſton; it is formed by two large branches, the eaſtern is the Flint River, and the weſtern is Cattahouachee River.

Each of theſe branches have ſeveral very large water-courſes falling into them, and on their banks are the different towns of the upper, middle, and lower Creek nations, a particular deſcription and even the recapitulation of the names of which would be only tireſome and diſagreeable.

From the ſource of the Flint River, and Cattahouachee River, to the mouth of the Apalachicola is about ſix hundred miles in a direct line, and perhaps ſeven hundred and fifty including the meanders.

The Apalachicola enters the gulph of Mexico in twenty-nine deg. forty-three min. N. lat. and fifteen miles N. E. from Cape Eſcondido, or St. Blas.

There is ſome difficulty in finding this opening, becauſe of the number of iſlands and lakes before and about it, and although it is a noble river, whoſe mouth forms a ſpacious harbour, yet it has not more than the depth of two and a half, or three fathoms of water at moſt, over the bar, but within it is very deep and large.

The tide flows higher up in this river than in any other on the coaſt, viz. about fifty miles.

The country here is a perfect level, and there is perceived a double current on this coaſt, one from the weſt, and another from the ſouth, in the gulf of Mexico.

Proceeding weſt from hence, the next is the bay of St. Andrew; then the bay of St. Joſeph, which is about thirteen miles long, and eight wide,

wide, and has very good anchorage in four, five or six fathoms water.

West of this is the bay of Santa Rosa, which is large and extensive.

The next is the road of Pensacola, which is one of the best in all the gulf of Mexico, and vessels can lie in safety therein against every kind of wind.

The bottom is sandy but mixed with shells, and is excellent for anchorage: the bay is capable of containing a great number of ships, and has sufficient depth of water, there being never less than twenty-one feet over the bar, in the middle of the channel.

The tides are irregular here, as well as upon all the rest of this coast. All that has been remarked is, that in the space of twenty-four hours the tide ebbs out of the harbour from eighteen to nineteen hours, and is from five to six hours flowing back again, and the greatest difference that hath been found between high and low water is about three feet, on certain days less, at other times without increase or diminution, although the currents are changing daily, but with no regularity.

The town of Pensacola is situated in a sandy sterile soil, and is a small disagreeable place.

But the finest bay in all Florida, or indeed in the gulf of Mexico, is that of Mobile, which forms a most noble and spacious harbour, six miles broad, and running thirty miles north to the several mouths of the Alibama or Mobile River, and the Alibamous. It affords very good anchorage, and is capable of containing e whole British navy.

The river Mobile or Alibama is formed by five

conſiderable rivers, which alſo take their riſe among the Chickeſaws, Upper Creeks, and Cherokee nations, running three hundred and fifty miles in a direct courſe, and with its meanders above ſix hundred.

This river conſiſts of two large principal branches, each of which is divided into, or formed by many others. The Weſtern branch is properly the Mobile; the Eaſt, which is the largeſt, is named the Alibama, or Alibamous.

The Mobile or weſtern branch is formed by the rivers Sookhanatcha, the Tumbicbe, and the Taſcalooſa, the two laſt of which take their riſe in the Chickeſaw nation.

Weſt of the firſt is a ridge of mountains, running nearly north and ſouth, parallel to the river.

And to weſtward ſtill of theſe mountains is Dog River and Roebuck River, which fall into the Mobile, about fifty miles below the junction.

The Alibama is formed by the Cabo, the Pataga Nahchee, the Great Kooſah, and the Okwhuſke Rivers, which take their riſe in the country of the Upper Creeks, and Over-hills Cherokees.

The conjunction of theſe large branches is above eighty or ninety miles above point Mobile.

The only conſiderable rivers weſt of the Mobile is the Paſquagoula River, and Pearl River, both of which are navigable for a great diſtance, and take their riſe between the Choctaw and Chickeſaw nations, being compoſed of a number of beautiful branches, and delightful rivulets, running through the richeſt lands, and moſt charming country in the world.

The

The Choctaws, or Flat-headed Indians, live on theſe laſt mentioned rivers, and have a vaſt number of fine towns and excellent plantations, being more inclined to agriculture than any other Indian nation on the continent. They are a ſtrong and powerful nation, for Indians, but not addicted to war, and are very peaceable and well diſpoſed.

However they are generally at variance with the Creek nations, betwixt whom and theſe there has long ſubſiſted an hereditary enmity.

They are more numerous than the Creeks, being able to bring five thouſand warriors into the field; but the Creeks are much the moſt warlike nation.

The Choctaws or Flat-heads are named ſo from having their foreheads flattened in their infancy, by a ſmall bag of ſand compreſſed on their foreheads while they are at the breaſt, when they are tied on a board with a hole cut through it for the back parts of their heads, and while the cranium is ſoft enough to be ſuſceptible of the impreſſion, which is continued conſtantly until the bones become of a firmer contexture, and retain the flatneſs, occaſioned by this preſſure, always afterwards.

This gives them a more diſagreeable appearance, and hideous aſpect than any other nation, and they ſuffer more of their hair to remain on their heads than any other Indians do, who generally keep it all pulled out by the roots, excepting a circular ſpot of about three inches diameter, exactly on the back part of the crown of the head, only the women, who commonly wear all their hair without pulling any of it out.

Weſt Florida was in a very flouriſhing condi tion, for an infant country; the ſettlements increaſed ſo faſt on the Miſſiſſippi, that had we not ceded the whole province to Spain, it is imagined the capital muſt have been removed from Penſacola, to a place named Monchack, on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi; and had this been done before the war, the Spaniards would certainly have found greater difficulty in making a conqueſt of this fine province, if they had been able to have effected it at all, which is indeed extremely doubtful.

The higheſt of our ſettlements on the river Miſſiſſippi is the Natches.

The fertility of the ſoil upon this river is indeed aſtoniſhing, and appears incredible to one who has never been on the Miſſiſſippi. Mr. Edmond Gray removed there from St. John's River in Eaſt Florida in the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four, with ſix hands (or ſlaves), and made a crop the ſame year of upwards of two thouſand buſhels of Indian corn, with hand hoes only, and alſo cleared the ground from the woods, beſides conſtructing temporary habitations (log houſes) to reſide in. Land was alſo at that time remarkably cheap to purchaſe.

Their commodities are Indian corn, proviſions, indigo, and lumber.

Their indigo bears a higher price than any other, excepting that of St. Domingo or Hiſpaniola, from the ſuperior richneſs and fertility of the ſoil on which it is produced, and they generally make about one hundred and fifty weight a ſhare, that is, for each ſlave they work in the culture of it.

The

The country is healthy, eſpecially about the Natches, with a moſt delightful happy climate, the ſummers temperate, and the winters mild.

There are judged to be above twelve hundred families in Weſt Florida, the greateſt part of which are ſettled on the Miſſiſſippi. And the moſt numerous nations of Indians on the continent are in this part of America, of ſeveral of which I have already given ſome account.

From Penſacola to new Orleans is above one hundred miles, to Manchack one hundred and eighty, to Natches two hundred, to Yaſſous two hundred and twenty, and to St. Auguſtine about three hundred and twenty miles.

CHAP.

CHAP. L.

Eaſt Florida. Rivers. Apalache. St. John's River. St. Auguſtine. Journey by Land. Deſcription of the Rivers, Country, and Diſtances. Muſquito River. Indian Towns.

DURING the whole of this voyage hitherto we had been ſo fortunate as to be favoured with the fineſt weather imaginable, and had ſcarcely been out of ſight of land; ſometimes indeed ſo very near it that one might have pitched a biſcuit on ſhore, and ſometimes remaining two or three days in one place, at leaſt with our veſſel only, for on ſuch occaſions we would frequently ramble a great diſtance from the ſpot where we landed.

Throughout this very delightful voyage I frequently took great pleaſure in contemplating on the rich and bountiful hand of nature: for let me caſt my eyes which way I pleaſed, I was equally attracted with a view of the moſt raviſhing proſpects.

The ſhore level, riſing gradually into eminences clothed with the fineſt verdure, and moſt beautiful ſpontaneous productions, promiſcuouſly interſperſed, as mulberry, cedar both red and white, cypreſs, cocoa, vanella, maho, tupelo, ſaſſafras, live-oak, and cabbage-trees, &c. the laſt towering with their round tops above the reſt, as if conſcious of its ſuperiority, and ſovereign dignity.

I alſo obſerved along this coaſt ſeveral plots of ground, which appeared to me to be like clumps

clumps or clusters of trees, and a kind of houses surrounded with pleasant gardens and corn.

Soon after, we arrived at St. Mark de Alapache, in East Florida, on the northern extremity of the bay of Alapaches, fourteen miles distant from the sea, on the north-east side of the river of Apalache, or St. Mark's.

This place is exceedingly healthful and pleasant, standing on the slope of a hill, and has been tolerably regular, being built of stone, excepting some few barackas.

There is also the appearance of the exterior parts of the town having been fortified in the Spanish mode, rather as a defence I suppose against the natives than Europeans; but the whole at present is in a state of utter ruin.

From the excellent and central situation of this fine port it might carry on a good trade in its own river, &c. and interior parts, as far as the Apalachean mountains, was it properly settled.

Indeed I understand it did so in the time of the Spaniards, and was then looked upon to carry on more commerce than all the other settlements in Florida put together.

There was once a pearl fishery in this bay, and there is said to be a silver mine some considerable distance up this river, at the foot of a mountain named Yamezee.

Apalache or Ogelagena river enters the bay of Apalache about forty miles to the eastward of Apalachiocla River, and rises about one hundred and thirty miles from the sea, in the confines of Georgia.

It is not known to receive any river of note in all its course, until it comes near the bay, when one considerable river named Tagabona enters into it.

The Apalache is a very fine river, and its entrance forms a large bay, which has ſome ſhallows and rocks ſtretching out from the land, but in the middle there is five fathom water.

The courſe into the mouth of this river is north, and within is a good harbour.

This place lies north one quarter weſt from the Tortugas, and in the paſſage are found ſoundings, at a great depth, all the way.

A briſk trade was formerly carried on by ſmall craft between this place and the Havannah, by the Spaniards.

The old Spaniſh town of St. Mark de Apalache, from whence the bay derives its name, ſtands exactly in the ſame place that Garcilaſſo de la Vega fixes as the Porte d' Auté.

The fort was built on a ſmall eminence, ſurrounded by marſhes, ſituated in the fork of the two rivers, and at about two leagues diſtance there is on this river a village of Apalachian Indians, called Santo Juan, as alſo ſome others in the neighbourhood.

The country around is beautiful, being well ſupplied with wood and water, and becomes more fertile the higher you advance into it.

From the mouth of this river we proceeded by land to St. Auguſtine, by a road which is as follows.

Ocon is fifteen miles from St. Marks; and ten miles beyond it is Ayavalla (an old fort); twenty-four miles further is Machalla; and eleven miles from thence is St. Matheo; both theſe are ſituated on the branches of the Rio Vaſiſa, which is about eighty miles in length, and enters the gulf of Mexico fifteen miles ſouth-eaſt from St. Marks; twenty-five miles from St. Matheo is San

San Pedro, on the ſouth ſide of the river San Pedro, which is one hundred miles long, and enters the gulf of Mexico ſeventy miles from St. Marks; eleven miles from San Pedro is Utoca; and in twelve miles more we came to Nuvoalla, ſituated on the eaſt ſide of the Carolinian River, the courſe of which has not yet been juſtly aſcertained, but there is very good reaſon to ſuppoſe that it runs a ſouth courſe into the Rio Amaſura; eight miles from Nuvoalla is Alochua, and in eight miles more we come to Jurla Noca.

All theſe places were formerly the ancient ſettlements of the Atimucas Indians, who were driven from them, by the Engliſh from Carolina in the year ſeventeen hundred and ſix, and have fixed their ſettlement on an iſland to the eaſt of St. John's River, about ſixty-five miles ſouth-weſt from St. Auguſtine, and call their chief town Pueblo de Atimucas.

Twenty-ſix miles from Jurla Noca we came to what had once been a Spaniſh ſettlement, on the banks of the river St. John, where a Mr. Spalding now has a ſtore, or retail warehouſe of merchandize and European goods.

Though the river St. John is here only two miles broad, yet it is eight miles over that and two iſlands to Fort Picolata, which is the laſt ſtage, and is thirty miles diſtant from St. Auguſtine.

By this road St. Auguſtine is one hundred and eighty-eight miles from St. Mark's.

The province of Eaſt Florida is bounded on the weſt by the Gulf of Mexico, and the river Apalachicola, which is formed by the conjunction of two rivers, the Cattahouachee on the weſt, and the Flint River on the eaſt; from the confluence

fluence a line drawn to the ſource of St. Mary's River, and that river, until it falls into the Atlantic Ocean, bound it, on the north; and on the eaſt and ſouth it is bounded by the ocean, and the Gulf of Mexico, including all iſlands, &c. within ſix leagues of the coaſt.

From Cape Eſcondido, or St. Blais, at the mouth of the Apalachicola river, to the confluence of the Cattahouchee and FlintRivers north, is one hundred and twenty ſtatute miles.

From this confluence to the ſource of St. Mary's River is ninety miles, then to the mouth in a direct line one hundred and twenty-five miles; which makes the greateſt breadth of this province, from eaſt to weſt, two hundred and fifteen miles.

Its greateſt length from north to ſouth, viz. from the confluence of the Cattahouchee and Flint rivers, to the ſouthern extremity of the Cape of Florida, is four hundred and fifty miles.

From St. Auguſtine to the mouth of the Vaſiſa River, or from the mouth of St. John's River, in the Atlantic Ocean, to the neareſt part of the Gulf of Mexico, is an hundred and twenty miles.

From St. Auguſtine ſouthward it is called the Cape, and is generally about eighty or eighty-five miles acroſs, from eaſt to weſt, viz. from the Atlantic Ocean to the Gulf of Mexico.

St. Auguſtine, the capital, lies twenty-nine degrees fifty minutes north latitude; the town runs along the ſhore, at the foot of a pleaſant eminence adorned with trees.

Its form is oblong, divided by four regular ſtreets, croſſing each other at right angles.

Down by the ſide of the harbour, about three-fourths of a mile ſouth of the town, ſtood the church,

church, and formerly a monaſtery, of St. Auguſtine.

The beſt built part of the town is on the north ſide, leading to the caſtle which is named St. John's Fort.

The Caſtle is a ſquare building of ſoft ſtone, fortified with whole baſtions, having a rampart twenty feet high, with a parapet nine feet thick, and it is caſe-mated.

The town is alſo ſtrengthened with baſtions, and encloſed with a ditch: the whole well furniſhed with cannon.

The harbour is formed by the north end of St. Anaſtaſia or Matanza's Iſland, and a long point of land, divided from the continent by the river St. Mark, which falls into the ſea a little above the caſtle.

At the entrance of this harbour are the north and ſouth breakers, forming two channels, whoſe bars have from eight to nine feet water over them at low water.

On the north and ſouth, without the city, are two Indian towns.

There was formerly a little fort, ſituated at the entrance of a river into the river Matanzas (on which is the town of St. Auguſtine), about four miles ſouth from the town, and at the end of a marſh.

There was another fort likewiſe, four miles north from St. Auguſtine, called Fort Muſa.

The ſoil about St. Auguſtine is very diſagreeable, ſandy, and barren; but it is much better on the river St. John's, the neareſt part of which, to this town, is about twenty-ſeven miles due weſt.

Soon after our arrival here, we made an excurſion as far as Muſquito River, to Turnbull's, Taylor's,

Taylor's, Biſſet's, and Oſwald's plantations. The land is better there than at St. Auguſtine, but inferior to that on the banks of St John's River.

The mouth of the Muſquito River lies in latitude twenty-eight degrees forty eight minutes north. There is a direct communication through this river, by the Rio Amazura, into the Gulf of Mexico.

The Muſquitoes are a tribe of Indians inhabiting both ſides of this river.

There is another ſmall Indian ſettlement named El Penon, on an iſland thirteen leagues to the north of Muſquito River, ſituated at the entrance of the Matanzas River, through which there is a communication to St. Auguſtine.

The bar of Matanzas has eight feet water on it, but afterwards, within the river, there is from ten to fifteen fathom. On the north ſide of the entrance of this river is high land, called the land of Rome.

St. Anaſtaſia or Matanza's Iſland, is twenty-ſeven miles in length, reaching from the bar of Matanzas to the entrance of the harbour of St. Auguſtine, which it helps to form.

CHAP.

CHAP. LI.

Attempts to make Sugar on Musquito River failed. Culture of Sugar. Stone Quarry near St. Augustine. Singular Floors to the Houses. East Florida thinly settled. Loyalists take Refuge in it. Prices of Commodities and Stock. Rates of travelling.

SOME attempts have been made to cultivate the sugar cane on the Musquito River, but they have not succeeded, at least not sufficiently to render it an object; because the keen and penetrating north-west winds always nipt this tender plant, the sugar cane, and not only hindered it from coming to maturity, but also prevented its filling with the juice which produces the sugar, and likewise rendered that which was obtained, of an inferior quality.

However sugar might certainly be cultivated to great advantage nearer to Cape Florida, where none of these disadvantages, and impediments that obstruct its growth, would affect it.

As an account of the culture of this valuable commodity may be acceptable, I shall venture to insert it in this place, and nearly in the same terms of one I have already seen, which is certainly just and accurate.

This commodity was not at all known to the Greeks and Romans, though it was made in China in very early times, from whence we had the first knowledge of it; but the Portuguese were the first that cultivated it in America, and brought it into request, as one of the materials of a very universal luxury in Europe.

'It

'It is not ſettled whether the cane, from which the ſubſtance is extracted, be a native of America, or was brought thither by the Portugueſe from India, and the coaſt of Africa; but however the matter may be, in the beginning they made the moſt, as they ſtill do the beſt ſugars which come to market in this part of the world.

'The ſugar cane grows to the height of between ſix and eight feet, full of joints about four or five inches aſunder; the colour of the body of the cane is yellowiſh, and the top, where it ſhoots into leaves, of a vivid green: the coat is pretty hard, and within contains a ſpungy ſubſtance full of juice, the moſt lively, elegant, and leaſt cloying ſweet in nature, and which ſucked raw has proved extremely nutritive and wholeſome.

'They are cultivated in this manner. In the month of Auguſt, that is in the rainy part of the year, after the ground is cleared and well hoed, they lay a piece of ſix or ſeven joints of the cane flat in a channel made for it, about half a foot deep; this they cover with the earth, and ſo plant the whole field in lines regularly diſpoſed, and at proper diſtances.

'In a ſhort time a young cane ſhoots out from every joint of the ſtock which was interred, and in twelve days grows to be a pretty tall and vigorous plant; but it is not until after ſixteen months, or thereabouts, that the canes are fit to anſwer the purpoſes of the planter, though they may remain a few months after, without any conſiderable prejudice to him.

'The longer they remain in the ground after they come to maturity, the leſs juice they afford,

ford, but this is ſomething compenſated by the ſuperior richneſs of the juice.

'That no time may be loſt they generally divide their cane ground into three parts.

'One is of ſtanding canes, and to be cut that ſeaſon; the ſecond is of new planted canes; and the third is fallow, ready to receive a freſh ſupply.

'In ſome places they make ſecond and third cuttings from the ſame root.

'The tops of the canes, and the leaves that grow upon the joints, make very good provender for their cattle, and the refuſe of the cane, after grinding, ſerves for fuel; ſo that no part of this excellent plant is without its uſe..

'The canes are cut with a billet, and carried in bundles to the mill, which is now generally a windmill; it turns three great cylinders, or rollers, platted with iron, ſet perpendicularly, and cogged ſo as to be all moved by the middle roller. Between theſe the canes are bruiſed to pieces, and the juice runs through a hole into a vat, which is placed under the rollers to receive it; from hence it is carried through a pipe into a great reſervoir, in which, however, for fear of turning ſour, it is not ſuffered to reſt long, but is conveyed out of that by other pipes into the boiling houſe, where it is received by a large cauldron: here it remains until the ſcum, which conſtantly ariſes during the boiling, is all taken off; from this it is paſſed ſucceſſively into five or ſix more boilers, gradually diminiſhing in their ſize, and treated in the ſame manner.

'In the laſt of theſe it becomes of a very thick clammy conſiſtence, but more boiling is incapable of carrying it farther; to advance

the

the operation they pour in a ſmall quantity of lime-water; the immediate effect of this alien mixture is to raiſe the liquor into a very vehement fermentation, but to prevent it from running over, a bit of butter no larger than a nut, is thrown in, upon which the fury of the fermentation immediately ſubſides; a veſſel of two or three hundred gallons requiring no greater force to quiet it.

'It is now taken out and placed in a cooler, where it dries, granulates and becomes fit to be put into the pots, which is the laſt part of the operation.

'The pots are conical, or of a ſugar loaf faſhion, open at the point, which muſt be conſidered as their bottom; here a ſtrainer is put acroſs.

'In theſe pots the ſugar purges itſelf of its remaining impurity; the molaſſes, or treacly part, diſentangles itſelf from the reſt, precipitates, and runs out of the aperture at the bottom; it is now in the condition called Muſcavedo ſugar, of a yellowiſh brown colour, and thus it is generally put into the hogſhead and ſhipped off.

'But when they have a mind to refine it yet farther, and leave no remains at all of the molaſſes, they cover the pots, I have juſt mentioned, with a ſort of white clay, like that uſed for tobacco pipes, diluted with water; this penetrates the ſugar, unites with the molaſſes, and with them runs off, leaving the ſugar of a whitiſh colour, but whiteſt at the top.

'This is called clayed ſugar; the operation is ſometimes repeated once or twice more, and the ſugar every time diminiſhing in quantity, gains conſiderably

conſiderably in value, but ſtill is called clayed ſugar.

'Farther than this they do not go in the plantations, becauſe a heavy duty, of ſix ſhillings per hundred weight, is laid upon all ſugars refined there; it is therefore unneceſſary to carry the account of the proceſs of refining it anyfarther.'

Of the molaſſes rum is made, in a manner that needs nodeſcription ſince it differs in nothing from the manner of diſtilling any other ſpirit.

From the ſcummings of the ſugar a meaner ſpirit is procured.

Rum finds its market throughout North America (wherere it is conſumed by the white inhabitants, or employed in the Indian trade, or diſtributed from the continent to the fiſhery of Newfoundland, and the African commerce), beſides what comes to Great Britain and Ireland.

However New England takes off a great quantity of molaſſes raw, and from thence is diſtilled there, a very inferior ill-taſted ſpirit, named New England or Yankee rum, of a flavour and quality very much reſembling that diſtilled in the French Weſt-India iſlands.

They compute, that when things are well managed, the rum and molaſſes pay the charges of the plantation, and that the ſugars are clear gain.

However by the particulars we have ſeen, and by others which we may eaſily imagine, the expences of a ſugar-plantation muſt be very great, and the profits at the firſt view precarious; for the chargeable articles of the wind-mill, the boiling, cooling, and diſtilling-houſes, and the buying, and ſubſiſting a ſuitable number of ſlaves and cattle, will not ſuffer any man to begin

gin a plantation here of any conſequence, not to mention the purchaſe of the land, under a capital of at leaſt five thouſand pounds.

Neither is the life of a planter a life of idleneſs and luxury; at all times he muſt keep a watchful eye over his overſeers, and even overſee himſelf occaſionally. But at the boiling ſeaſon, if he is properly attentive to his affairs, no way of life can be more laborious, and more dangerous to the health, from a conſtant attendance, day and night, in the extreme united heats of the climate and ſo many fierce furnaces; add to this the loſs by hurricanes, earthquakes, and bad ſeaſons, and then conſider when the ſugars are in caſk, that he quits the toils of a planter, to engage in the hazards of a merchant, and ſhips his produce at his own riſk.

The ſum of all might make one believe, that it could never anſwer to engage in this buſineſs; but notwithſtanding all this, greater eſtates are made in a ſhorter time from ſugar-plantations, than from any other culture or produce in the world.

Large plantations are under the management or care of a chief overſeer, who has commonly a ſalary of an hundred and fifty pounds a year, with overſeers under him in proportion to the greatneſs of the plantation, one to about thirty Negroes, and at the rate of about forty pounds annually.

Such plantations too have a ſurgeon, at a fixed ſalary, employed to take care of the Negroes which belong to it.

But the courſe which is the leſt troubleſome to the proprietor of the eſtate, is to let the land, with all the works, and the ſtock of cattle and ſlaves,

ſlaves, to a tenant who gives ſecurity for the payment of rent, and, the keeping up repairs and the ſtock.

The eſtate is generally eſtimated to ſuch a tenant at half the neat produce of the beſt years. Such tenants, if frugal and induſtrious men, ſoon make good eſtates for themſelves.

The Negroes in theſe plantations are ſubſiſted at a very eaſy rate. This is generally by alloting to each family of them a ſmall portion of land, and allowing them two days in the week, Saturday and Sunday to cultivate it.

Some are ſubſiſted in this manner, but others find their Negroes themſelves, with a certain portion of Indian corn, commonly a peck a week for each ſlave, and ſometimes a ſalt herring, or a ſmall quantity of bacon, or ſalt pork a day. All the reſt of the charge conſiſts in a cap, or coarſe hat, a ſhirt, a pair of trowſers, ſtockings, and ſhoes, the whole not exceeding the value of forty ſhillings a year.

The houſes here have a very ſingular appearance within, being floored with a kind of reddiſh ſtucco, intermixed with ſhells, inſtead of plank, no where elſe to be met with in Britiſh America, and was performed by the Spaniards, when the province was in their poſſeſſion.

In ſummer it is always waſhed very clean every day, which not only affords a grateful appearance to the eye, but alſo produces a pleaſant coolneſs, that is not to be met with in rooms with flooring of plank.

In the iſland of Matanzas, or St. Anaſtaſia, there is a quarry of ſoft ſtone, which becomes harder as it is expoſed to the action of the external air.

Of

Of this ſtone is compoſed all the maſonry of the fort of St. John, which is indeed one of the ſtrongeſt on the continent.

We proceeded from St. Auguſtine to the mouth of St. John's River, and ſtaid the firſt night at the houſe of a Mr. Morris, a very kind hoſpitable planter, poſſeſſed of a tolerable houſe and plantation, and a conſiderable fortune.

Here I was ſeized with a violent intermittent fever, which detained me thirteen days, during all which time I received the moſt humane and friendly treatment from Mr. Morris and his family, as well as from Mr. Groves and Mr. Lewis, who remained with and attended me until my recovery.

In this province the number of inhabitants rather decreaſed before the rebellion in North America, there being ſcarcely an hundred white families reſiding in the whole country out of St. Auguſtine, excluſive of the Negroes, and the eſtates of ſuch proprietors as reſide in Great Britain. In St Auguſtine itſelf there are not many more, beſides the garriſon.

Settlements do not extend farther ſouth than Muſquito river, about ſixty miles to the ſouthward of St Auguſtine.

From Auguſtine to the extremity of the cape, or Cape Florida, is three hundred miles; and although this part of the province conſiſts of much the beſt lands, no ſettlements are extended farther ſouth from the capital than ſixty miles, as I have juſt obſerved.

The neareſt Indians, formidable in war, to St. Auguſtine are the Lower Creeks, who reſide in the fork of Flint River, and a ſmall tribe of them have this year gone down to the cape,

perfectly

perfectly good humoured, friendly, and well diſpoſed towards us.

Many families have removed from this province to Weſt Florida, on account of the immenſe ſuperiority of the ſoil in fertility, which prevents this province from increaſing in population, and renders that of Weſt Florida to advance in a ſurpriſing degree.

Beſides the above, there was no aſſembly at that time, and the court of juſtice was ſaid to be very oppreſſive, which alſo prevented the colony from increaſing or improvement.

However ſince the revolt in America the face of things was changed in Eaſt Florida, greatly to its advantage, there being ſeveral thouſand loyaliſts ſettled there for refuge, having fled and being expelled, from the revolted provinces, which enabled the Governor to have a Council, Aſſembly, &c. and advanced this province to a very flouriſhing condition.

The greateſt inconvenience that attends the the northern part of this province is dry ſeaſons, and a general want of rain, as it lies under one of the tropics.

The ſouthern part is more ſeaſonable, ſeldom being without refreſhing ſhowers for any length of time, both becauſe of the height of the land, and the hills therein which attract the clouds, as well as its being ſurrounded with vaſt and extenſive ſeas, from which vapours and moiſture are perpetually exhaled.

Throughout the ſettled and beſt known parts of Eaſt Florida, the lands in general are pine barrens, with a ſandy ſoil. About twenty or thirty miles back from the coaſt they are clay with pines.

One thouſand acres of good land in a body is very ſeldom to be found.

Settlement;

Settlements are very thinly ſcattered, being five, ten, and twenty miles diſtant from each other.

The produce or growth of timber is principally pine; there are alſo live-oak, water-oak, ſaſſafras, hiccory, gum, aſh, maple, and tupalo, on the cape mahogany, and in the ſwamps abundance of cypreſs, beſides cedar, and moſt other kinds of timber.

There is great plenty of good graſs, and very fine marſhes.

The higheſt price of improved land is ten ſhillings per acre; the loweſt three ſhillings, and even two. Corn ſells now at two ſhillings and ſix pence per buſhel, but it ſometimes brings four ſhillings and ſix pence.

Horſes are from four to five pounds each; a cow with calf two pounds; pork is purchaſed for twenty and twenty-five ſhillings per hundred weight neat.

The only produce of this province, worth mentioning for exportation, is indigo, which ſells at five and ſix ſhillings per pound, according to the quality; one hand, that is one ſlave, will make from one hundred to one hundred and fifty pounds weight of it, beſides the general work on the plantation in the culture of corn and cotton for his ſubſiſtence and clothing.

Rates of travelling are as follow: dinner one ſhilling, ſupper one ſhilling, breakfaſt eight pence, ſervants diet, ſix pence each, if they are blacks, but for white ſervants you pay the ſame as for yourſelf, lodging four pence, ſtabling for your horſes ſix pence each, beſides paying for their provender; Indian corn, or more generally rough rice, with which horſes are fed here, two pence per quart.

The

The common drink is rum and water, ſometimes with ſugar, and ſometimes made into punch with fruit, at the rate of one ſhilling per quart.

Every thing in the above rates is calculated in ſterling, which indeed is the only currency both in Weſt and Eaſt Florida.

CHAP. LII.

Recover from Sickneſs. Leave Eaſt Florida. The Rivers Alatamaha, Great Ogetchee, and Savannah. The Town of Savannah. Indian War. Georgians made a poor Figure. Flouriſhing State of Georgia. Number of Inhabitants. Value of Land. Staple Commodities and Produce. Rates of Travelling. Value of annual Exports and Imports.

MY ſtrength being ſufficiently recovered to proceed on our journey, we left Mr. Morris's, and in thirty-ſix miles came to St. Mary's River, the northern boundary of the province.

We were ferried over this river in a ſkew, or flat boat, at Johnſon's-ferry, and entered the province of Georgia.

This night we put up at the ferry on Great Sitilla River, which is twelve miles diſtant from St. Mary's, having forded a conſiderable water-courſe named Crooked or Dividing River.

All this country hitherto is in its infancy, with very few ſettlements, and the land but indifferent in quality, though there were ſeveral pretty pleaſant ſituations, and ſome very good land.

On the day following we croſſed Little Sitilla River, twelve miles diſtant from the other, alſo a rivulet named Tortoiſe River, and the great river Alatamaha at the diſtance of thirty-one miles from Little Sitilla.

Here we remained all night, at a place laid out for a town named Darien, on the northern banks

banks of the river, where the inhabitants are chiefly Scots.

The Alatamaha is a large, extenſive, and very fine river, with abundance of moſt excellent land on its banks.

It is at leaſt as large as the Apalachicola, or the Roanoak, formerly mentioned, and derives its ſource near the head-ſprings of the rivers Apalachicola, and Euphaſſee, the ſouthern branch of the Hogohegee or Cherokee River.

It is formed by two large branches, the Ockmulghe on the ſouth, and the Ockoonee on the north, each of which receives ſeveral very conſiderable rivers, paſſing through a vaſt body of extreme fine land. The great fork of the Alatamaha is about an hundred and twenty-five miles from the ſea.

From the ſource of the Ockoonee to the mouth of the Alatamaha is not leſs than three hundred and thirty miles in a direct courſe, and above five hundred along with the meanders of the river.

Proceeding on our journey we left the Alatamaha, croſſing a number of water-courſes, viz. Sapello River, ſouth and north Newport Rivers, and another very large river named the Great Ogechee, juſt below the place where a conſiderable ſtream enters into it, named Cowanoochee River, and at night arrived at Savannah, the capital of the province of Georgia, which is forty-three miles from the Alatamaha.

The Great Ogechee River, which we croſſed before we came to Savannah, is a large and excellent river, with a great quantity of fine land upon it, but not ſo rich in quality as the

lands on the Alatamaha, nor is this river ſo large as it.

This river runs almoſt parallel to the Alatamaha, near the head of which it alſo derives its ſource, and falls into the ocean at great Warſa ſound, after a direct courſe of three hundred miles, or with its meanders at leaſt five hundred.

The town of Savannah is ſituated on the ſouthern banks of the river of that name, which alſo runs nearly parallel to the Great Ogechee and Alatamaha Rivers, near the head of which the Savannah likewiſe derives its ſource, and runs into the ocean at Tybee, after a courſe in direct lines of three hundred miles, and near ſix hundred including its meanders.

It is nearly about the magnitude of the Alatamaha, although I do not imagine it contains quite ſo much water as that river.

The banks of the river on which the Savannah is built are high and commanding, and the oppoſite ſide being low, renders the ſituation of the town the more pleaſant.

It lies about ten miles from the ſea, and contains perhaps one thouſand, or twelve hundred inhabitants, white and black.

This river is navigable to Auguſta, above two hundred and ten miles farther up in the country, a large town, but ſpread over a great and unproportionable extent of ground.

The town of Auguſta is ſo commodiouſly ſituated for the Indian trade, that from the firſt eſtabliſhment of the colony, it has been in a very flouriſhing condition, and maintained very early ſix hundred Whites in that branch of commerce alone.

The

The Indian nations, whoſe trade centers here, are ſome of the moſt numerous and powerful tribes in America.

The trade of ſkins with theſe people is the largeſt we have; it includes that of Eaſt Florida, part of Weſt Florida, all Georgia, North and South Carolina, and the greateſt part of Virginia.

We are ſupplied with ſome furs alſo from them, but they are of an inferior ſort. All ſpecies of animals that bear the fur, by a wiſe Providence, have it more thick, and of a ſofter and finer kind as you go to the northward; the greater the cold, the better they are clad.

I made excurſions from Savannah to the towns of Puryſburg, Ebenezer, and every place of any note around, an account of which would be little better then a mere repetition of what has already been deſcribed.

The land around the town of Savannah is ſandy and poor, and the timber chiefly pines.

However this province was certainly in a very flouriſhing condition, but the richeſt lands in it lie on the river Alatamaha, which was becoming a very thriving ſettlement, and increaſed very faſt.

The lands throughout this province, as far as I have ſeen, are richer than that of Eaſt Florida; and it is beyond any compariſon better ſettled, being ſaid to contain, according to the computation publiſhed by the firſt American Congreſs, one hundred eleven thouſand and ſeventy-five inhabitants; which account I think exaggerated, nor do I imagine, from the beſt information of the principal perſons in the province, that it really contains more than one hundred thouſand ſouls,

white and black, of which number not more than one fifth are white.

This province is bounded on the north by the river Savannah, which divides it from South Carolina; and by a line drawn from the head ſpring of Georgia Creek, a branch of Little River which runs into the Savannah on the ſouth ſide about thirty miles above Auguſta, due weſt, until it interſects the Miſſiſſippi; by the river Miſſiſſippi on the weſt; on the ſouth by Weſt and Eaſt Florida, as already deſcribed; and on the eaſt by the Atlantic ocean, including all iſlands, &c.

It lies between thirty-one and thirty-three degrees north latitude, and between eighty-one and ninety-one degrees weſt longitude.

In the ſettlement of Georgia it was originally intended for a kind of military frontier government, as a barrier againſt the Spaniards when they poſſeſſed the Floridas, for this purpoſe it had every countenance and aſſiſtance from government.

But this laudable deſign failing, the ſettlement was placed exactly on the ſame footing as South Carolina, in which condition it has greatly improved, and thereby arrived at its preſent flouriſhing ſtate.

However in this light of defence it lately cut but a very indifferent figure.

In the year one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-four, the Indians commenced hoſtilities throughout a great part of the continent, particularly in Virginia, South-Carolina, and Georgia.

In Virginia, where they were by far the moſt formidable, the Governor, the Earl of Dunmore,

more, went out againſt them in perſon, a ſevere action was fought with them on the banks of the great Kanhawah and Ohio, wherein the Indians were defeated, and his Lordſhip alſo at the head of a conſiderable force penetrated into the heart of their country, burnt their towns, made them ſue for and conclude a peace, and give hoſtages for the continuance of it.

In South Carolina there was an engagement likewiſe, and the Whites were victorious.

In this province, two hundred Georgian militia were ſent out againſt them. Hearing the Indians were approaching, a choſen detachment, conſiſting of thirty in number, was advanced ſome diſtance in front of the main body.

This party, diſcovering ſome of the enemy, made a halt, to conſult whether to attack them on horſeback or on foot.

It was carried to make the attack on horſeback, in order, as the event proved, to enable them the better to run away.

The Indians, who were only ſeventeen in number, perceiving them halt, marched boldly forward and fired upon them; theſe doughty heroes inſtantly wheeled to the right about and fled to a man with the greateſt precipitation without firing a ſingle ſhot, and the whole two hundred followed their example, in the utmoſt confuſion and diſmay.

The Indians being elated, upon this ſucceſs, committed many depredations, until all their ammunition was expended.

The Georgians, greatly terrified, ſent to Great Britain for troops. Theſe harraſſments, and many diviſions amongſt themſelves, preven-

ted their ſending delegates to the firſt American Congreſs at Philadelphia.

However they ſoon found means to bring theſe their Indian enemies to their own terms, by immediately ſhutting up every avenue of trade with them, from whence alone the Indians derived their only ſupplies of ammunition, which indeed is their ſole reſource for procuring food, ſubſiſtence, and cloathing, as well as for war: the Georgians alſo began to raiſe more forces.

The Indians upon this made every conceſſion that could be deſired, delivered up all who had been moſt guilty of the depredations and murders, and thereby obtained peace and a renewal of trade.

They are now quite reconciled again, and perfectly friendly.

Georgia is indeed a fine country, where it is well cultivated; there is certainly a vaſt quantity of poor barren land in the province, but there is alſo a great deal very good and valuable.

The beſt lands in excellent culture ſell for high prices, bringing from three, to twelve pounds ſterling an acre; ſo much has the value of landed property increaſed, by the culture of indigo and rice, under a mild and free government.

The rates of travelling are much the ſame as thoſe mentioned in Eaſt Florida, and the currency here is alſo ſterling.

The trade of Georgia, at the commencement of the general revolt in America, although in its infancy, was rapidly increaſing. The exports then amounted to more than ſeventy-four thouſand pounds, and the imports to forty-nine thouſand pounds ſterling annually.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIII.

Set out for Charles Town. Afterwards proceed to Auguſta, Ninety-Six, &c. Culture of Indigo. Culture of Rice. Culture of Cotton. Deſcription of the Country. Of the Sea Coaſt. Of the Back Country. Fertility of the Soil. Excellence of the Climate, &c.

MR. Groves left us at Savannah, and ſet out for his own houſe in the interior, or rather the back part of Georgia, being on the Great Ogechee River, a conſiderable diſtance farther back than Auguſta.

But Mr. Lewis and I were equally fortunate in meeting with agreeable company, for Mr. Morris of St John's River, at whoſe houſe I had received ſuch kind and hoſpitable treatment when I was ſick in Eaſt Florida; having ſome buſineſs in Maryland which, while I was at his houſe, he propoſed tranſacting there next year, having changed his mind, reſolved to commence the journey immediately, and had puſhed hard to overtake us, as we ſhould accompany each other almoſt the whole way.

He came to me at Savannah, and acquainted me with his intentions, propoſing for us to make the journey together, which I moſt gladly acceded to, as Mr. Lewis and I were to part at Charles Town, from whence he intended to take the route home to Auguſta in Virginia; and Mr. Morris accordingly ſtaid with us ſome days, making excurſions to every place worthy of notice around Savannah, before we proceeded on our journey.

Having remained in and near Savannah about

ten days, we croſſed the river into South Carolina, and ſet out for Charles Town, where we arrived after four eaſy days ride, having turned aſide from the main road to the right, and ſtaid all night at Beaufort, or, as it is ſometimes called, Port Royal, from the harbour which is the beſt in the province, and having croſſed ſeveral inconſiderable rivers in this journey, the principal of which were the Coofahatche River, the Saltketchers or Cambahe River, and the Eddiſto, or Ponpon River, remarkable for rich widows, frolic, and feaſting.

The diſtance from Savannah to Charles Town is one hundred and thirty miles, through a country the greateſt part of the way as beautiful, and perhaps richer, than is to be met with in any other part of the world.

The great produce of this country is indigo and rice.

The former is a ſource of wealth, greater and more eſtimable than gold and ſilver mines, and the latter adds plenty to riches, and beauty in its culture.

Silk was formerly made here, but it is now diſcontinued and has given place to the preſent more profitable ſtaple.

The Ediſto or Ponpon has been remarked by every one for the number of opulent widow ladies who reſide on the banks of that river, and for the perpetual round of entertainments and diſſipation purſued by the inhabitants of that gay ſettlement.

The cauſe of ſo many widows being there is eaſily diſcovered; that part of the country, though rich and fertile, is extremely unhealthy; this, added to the great intemperance of the men,

and

and the exceſſes of every kind they are perpetually involved in, generate acute bilious diſorders which quickly carry them off.

The lives of the women are only preſerved by their manner of life being more temperate, and their being leſs addicted to exceſſes, which ſecures them from the violent diſeaſes that prove fatal to the men.

Immediately after our arrival in Charles Town, Mr. Morris being unexpectedly called on buſineſs to Auguſta and Ninety-Six, I alſo accompanied him on this journey, being deſirous of ſeeing as much of the country as poſſible.

To recapitulate the particulars of this journey would appear ſo much like a repetition of what has been already deſcribed, that I ſhall paſs it over, with only theſe general obſervations, that it was three weeks before we returned to Charles Town, every day of which we were engaged in travelling either more or leſs.

We went through Dorcheſter, croſſed Ponpon or Eddiſto, went up the Saltketchers to Fort More, from thence to Auguſta, then to New Bourdeaux, and acroſs the country to Ninety-Six; returning by Orangeburg on the north fork of Eddiſto, then croſſing the country to Santee River, and came into Charles Town through Monk's Corner, St. Thomas's &c. having travelled in this journey at leaſt ſeven hundred miles.

When we ſet out on this tour to Auguſta from Charles Town, we took our final leave of Mr. Lewis, as he propoſed to depart from hence, by the upper road through Saliſbury, &c. for his own houſe in Auguſta county in Virginia, before

fore our return; and accordingly when we came back we were informed that he had left Charles Town about ten or twelve days before.

As a deſcription of the culture of indigo, the ſource from whence this province has derived its ſuperior wealth, may be acceptable to the generality of readers, I ſhall take this opportunity of inſerting a very accurate one, (which has already been publiſhed, that I know to be juſt and exact.

'Indigo is a dye, made from a plant of the ſame name, which probably was ſo called from India, where it was firſt cultivated, and from whence for a conſiderable time we had the whole of what we conſumed in Europe.

This plant is ſomewhat like the fern when grown, and when young is hardly diſtinguiſhable from lucern graſs, its leaves in general are pennated, and terminated by a ſingle lobe; the flowers conſiſt of five leaves, and are of the papilionaceous kind, the uppermoſt petal being longer and rounder than the reſt, and lightly furrowed on the ſide, the lower ones are ſhort, and end in a point; in the middle of the flower is formed the ſtyle, which afterwards becomes a pod containing the ſeeds.

They cultivate three ſorts of indigo in Carolina, which demand the ſame variety of ſoils.

Firſt the French or Hiſpaniola indigo, which ſtriking a long tap root will only flouriſh in a deep rich ſoil, and therefore, though an excellent ſort, is not ſo much cultivated in the maritime parts of the province, which are generally ſandy, but it is produced in great perfection, an hundred miles backwards; it is neglected too on another

another account, for it hardly bears a winter ſo ſharp as that of Carolina.

The ſecond ſort, which is the falſe Guatimala or true Bahama, bears the winter better, is a more tall and vigorous plant, is raiſed in greater quantities from the ſame compaſs of ground, is content with the worſt ſoil in the country, and is therefore more cultivated than the firſt ſort, though inferior in the quality of its dye.

The third ſort is the wild indigo, which is indigenous here; this, as it is a native of the country, anſwers the purpoſes of the planter beſt of all, with regard to the hardineſs of the plant, the eaſineſs of the culture, and the quantity of the produce: of the quality there is ſome diſpute, not yet ſettled amongſt the planters themſelves; nor can they as yet diſtinctly tell when they are to attribute the faults of their indigo, to the nature of the plant, to the ſeaſons, which have much influence upon it, or to ſome defect in the manufacture.

The time of planting the indigo is generally after the firſt rains ſucceeding the vernal equinox: the ſeed is ſown in ſmall ſtraight trenches, about eighteen or twenty inches aſunder; when it is at its height it is generally eighteen inches tall.

It is fit for cutting, if all things anſwer well, in the beginning of July.

Towards the end of Auguſt a ſecond cutting is obtained, and if they have a mild autumn there is a third cutting at Michaelmas.

The indigo land muſt be weeded every day, the plants cleanſed from worms, and the plantation attended with the greateſt care and diligence; about twenty-five negroes may manage a plantation

tion of fifty acres, and complete the manufacture of the drug, beſides providing their own neceſſary ſubſiſtence, and that of the planter's family.

Each acre yields, if the land be very good, ſixty or ſeventy pounds weight of indigo, at a medium the produce is fifty pounds.

This, however, is reckoned by many ſkilful planters but a very indifferent crop.

When the plant is beginning to bloſſom it is fit for cutting, and when cut great care ought to be taken to bring it to the ſteeper without preſſing or ſhaking it, as great part of the beauty of the indigo depends upon the fine farina which adheres to the leaves of this plant.

The apparatus for making indigo is pretty conſiderable, though not very expenſive, for beſides a pump, the whole conſiſts only of vats and tubs, of cypreſs wood, common and cheap in this country.

The indigo when cut is firſt laid in a vat, about twelve or fourteen feet long and four deep, to the height of about fourteen inches, to macerate and digeſt: then this veſſel, which is called the *ſteeper*, is filled with water; the whole having laid from about twelve or ſixteen hours, according to the weather, begins to ferment, ſwell, riſe, and grow ſenſibly warm; at this time ſpars of wood are run acroſs, to mark the higheſt point of its aſcent; when it falls below this mark, they judge that the fermentation has attained its due pitch, and begins to abate; this directs the managers to open a cock, and let off the water into another vat which is called the *beater*, the groſs matter that remains in the firſt vat is carried off to manure the ground, for which purpoſe it is excellent,

excellent, and new cuttings are put in, as long as the harveſt of this weed continues.

When the water, ſtrongly impregnated with the particles of indigo, has run into the ſecond vat or beater, they attend with a ſort of bottomleſs buckets with long handles to work and agitate it, which they do inceſſantly, until it heats, froths, ferments, and riſes above the rim of the veſſel that contains it, to allay this violent fermentation oil is thrown in as the froth riſes, which inſtantly ſinks it.

When this beating has continued for twenty, thirty, or thirty-five minutes, according to the ſtate of the weather, for in cool weather it requires the longeſt continued beating, a ſmall muddy grain begins to be formed, the ſalts and other particles of the plant, united and diſſolved before with the water, are now re-united together, and begin to granulate.

To diſcover theſe particles the better and to find when the liquor is ſufficiently beaten, they take up ſome of it from time to time on a plate, or in a glaſs; when it appears in a hopeful condition, they let looſe ſome lime water from an adjacent veſſel, gently ſtirring the whole, which wonderfully facilitates the operation; the indigo granulates more fully, the liquor aſſumes a purpleiſh colour, and the whole is troubled and muddy; it is now ſuffered to ſettle; then the clearer part is permitted to run off into another ſucceſſion of veſſels, from whence the water is conveyed away as faſt as it clears on the top, until nothing remains but a thick mud, which is put into bags of coarſe linen. Theſe are hung up and left for ſome time until the moiſture is entirely drained off.

To

To finiſh the drying, this mud is turned out of the bags, and worked upon boards of ſome porous timber, with a wooden ſpatula; it is frequently expoſed to the morning and evening ſun, but for a ſhort time only: and then it is put into boxes or frames, which is called the curing, expoſed again to the ſun in the ſame cautious manner, until with great labour and attention the operation is finiſhed, and that valuable drug or die called indigo fitted for the market.

The greateſt ſkill and care is required in every part of the proceſs, or there may be great danger of ruining the whole; the water muſt not be ſuffered to remain too ſhort or too long a time, either in the ſteeper or beater; the beating itſelf muſt be nicely managed, ſo as not to exceed or fall ſhort; and in the curing, the exact medium between too much or too little drying is not eaſily aſſertained.

Nothing but experience can make the overſeers ſkilful in theſe matters.

There are two methods of trying the goodneſs of indigo; by fire and by water.

If it ſwims it is good, if it ſinks it is naught, the heavier the worſe; ſo if it wholly diſſolves in water it is good.

Another way of proving it is by the fire ordeal; if it entirely burns away it is good, the adulterations remain untouched.

There is perhaps no branch of manufacture in which ſo large profits may be made upon ſo moderate a fund as that of indigo, and there is no country (excepting on the banks of the Miſſiſſippi) in which this manufacture can be carried on to ſuch advantage as Carolina, where the climate

is

is healthy, provisions plentiful and cheap, and every thing necessary for that business had with the greatest ease.

To do justice to the Carolinians they have not neglected these advantages; and if they had not revolted from Great Britain, and had continued to improve their natural advantages in the culture of this most valuable commodity, and diligently attended to the quality of their goods, they would necessarily have come to supply the consumption of the principal part of the world therewith, and consequently have rendered their country the richest, as it is one of the pleasantest and most fertile parts of North America.

Rice anciently formed by itself the staple of this province; this wholsome grain makes a great part of the food of all ranks of people in the southern parts of the world; in the northern it is not so much in request.

Whilst the rigour of of the British act of navigation obliged them to send all their rice directly to England, to be re-shipped for the markets of Spain and Portugal, the charges incident to this regulation lay so heavy upon the trade, that the cultivation of rice, especially in time of war, when these charges were greatly aggravated by the rise of the freight and insurance, hardly answered the charges of the planter.

But after the legislature had relaxed the law in this respect, and permitted the South Carolinians to send their rice directly to any place to the southward of Cape Finisterre, this prudent indulgence restored the rice trade; and although they have gone largely, and with great spirit into the profitable article of indigo, it has not diverted their attention from the cultivation of rice.

Just

Juſt before the rebellion in America they raiſed near three times the quantity of what they made formerly, and this branch alone of their commerce was then, at the loweſt eſtimation, worth two hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually, viz. at the commencement of the revolt juſt mentioned.

The culture of rice is as follows.

Rice is a hard grain, with a coarſe thick huſk ſomewhat reſembling Engliſh barley, only whiter and much harder.

It is ſowed as ſoon as it conveniently can be after the vernal equinox, from which period until the middle, and even the laſt of May, is the uſual time of putting it in the ground.

It grows beſt in low marſhy land, and ſhould be ſowed in furrows twelve inches aſunder; it requires to be flooded, and thrives beſt, if ſix inches under water; the water is occaſionally drained off, and turned on again to overflow it, for three or four times.

When ripe the ſtraw becomes yellow, and it is either reaped with a ſickle, or cut down with a ſcythe and cradle, ſome time in the month of September; after which it is raked and bound, or got up looſe, and threſhed or trodden out, and winnowed in the ſame manner as wheat or barley.

Huſking it requires a different and particular operation, in a mill made for that purpoſe.

This mill is conſtructed of two large flat wooden cylinders, formed like ſmall mill-ſtones, with channels or furrows cut therein, diverging in an oblique direction from the centre to the circumference, made of an heavy and exceedingly hard

hard timber called lightwood, which is the knots of the pitch pine.

This is turned with the hand like the common hand mills, for they have not as yet arrived at ſuch a ſtate of improvement and perfection in this buſineſs as to make uſe of horſe mills, which might certainly be rendered much more advantageous and uſeful.

After the rice is thus cleared of the huſks, it is again winnowed, when it is fit for exportation.

After this proceſs the value of this grain upon the ſpot is about ten ſhillings, ſterling per hundred weight.

A buſhel of rice will weigh about ſixty-five or ſixty-ſix pounds, and an acre of middling land will produce twenty-five buſhels.

It is calculated that each ſlave may make about ſeventy-five buſhels of rice, or about twenty-five pounds ſterling, at a medium annually.

Cotton is alſo a moſt uſeful production of this country, and of all the ſouthern provinces.

It is cultivated in this manner.

About eight of the ſeeds, which ſomewhat reſemble thoſe of a ſun-flower, are planted together in ſmall, hills, about two feet aſunder; for this purpoſe rich gravelly ſoil is much the moſt proper, and that number of ſeeds are put in the ground becauſe ſo many of them are faulty that it is very ſeldom more than two or three of all the eight or nine vegetate.

In about ten days it is ſeen above the ground, and then it reſembles the leaf of the kidney-bean. As the ſummer advances it muſt be weeded, worked, and the earth thrown towards the roots of the plants.

As

As it grows it ſhoots forth into eight, ten, twenty or more different branches, and when ripe is about twelve or eighteen inches high above the ground; the pods are then about the ſize of a black walnut, of a dark colour, round, and pointed at the extremity. When perfectly ripe this pod burſts itſelf, with an audible crack, and the cotton expands itſelf out of four or five different cells, each of which contains a ſeed, ſurrounded by a quantity of fine cotton of a ſnowy whiteneſs.

It then has the appearance, at a diſtance, of large and elegant white roſes, of the moſt beautiful and perfect whiteneſs, and at this time it is gathered, which is about the fall of the leaf, that is the latter end of October.

Little negroes and uſeleſs hands are employed every night in picking the ſeeds from the cotton, which is a very tedious and tireſome operation.

Cotton in this ſtate upon the ſpot is worth three pence ſterling per pound including the ſeeds, and when they are picked from it, it ſells for a ſhilling ſterling per pound.

An acre of land in the culture of cotton contains about ſeven thouſand five hundred hills, and at a medium would produce perhaps five hundred pounds weight.

One hand or ſlave might cultivate five acres which would thus produce about thirty-two pounds ſterling, by ſelling it in the ſeed, as it would be impoſſible for ſuch a quantity to be picked by any number of hands a planter could ſpare.

There is a more expeditious method of picking cotton by a machine called a gin, which however

however breaks many of the ſeeds amongſt the cotton, and renders it of leſs value than what is picked by hand.

Beſides the above two ſtaple commodities, indigo and rice, South Carolina affords a very conſiderable quantity of lumber, proviſion, &c. in common with the reſt of the provinces, for annual exportation.

In South Carolina the ſoil in general is richer, and more fertile than in Georgia.

Thunder and lightning is likewiſe frequent, and dreadfully tremendous.

This province is alſo ſubject to hurricanes, but they are very rare, and not ſo violent as thoſe of the Weſt Indies.

Part of the month of March, all April, May, and the greateſt part of June are here inexpreſſibly temperate and agreeable; but in July, Auguſt and September the heat is exceedingly intenſe; and though the winters are very ſharp, eſpecially when the north-weſt wind prevails, yet they are ſeldom ſevere enough to freeze any conſiderable water, affecting only the mornings and evenings; the froſts have never ſufficient ſtrength to reſiſt the noon-day ſun; ſo that many tender plants that do not ſtand the winter in Virginia, flouriſh in South Carolina, for they have oranges in great plenty, in and near Charles Town, and excellent in their kinds, both ſweet and ſour. Olives are alſo produced, though they are rather neglected by the planter, than denied by the climate.

The vegetation of every kind of plant is here almoſt incredibly quick, for there is ſomething ſo kindly in the air and ſoil, that where the latter

ter has the moſt barren and unpromiſing appearance, if neglected for a while it throws out an immenſe quantity of thoſe various plants, and beautiful flowering ſhrubs, for which this country is ſo famous, and of which ſuch fine drawings have been made in the Natural Hiſtory of Carolina.

The whole country is in a manner one univerſal foreſt, where the planters have not cleared it.

The trees are almoſt the ſame in every reſpect with thoſe produced in Virginia, and by the different ſpecies and growth of theſe, the quality and excellence of the ſoil is eaſily diſcovered; for thoſe grounds which bear the oak, the poplar, the walnut, the ſaſſafras and the hickory, are extremely fertile; they are of a dark ſand, intermixed with loam, and as all their lands abound with nitre, it is a long time before it is exhauſted, for here they never uſe any manure.

The pine barren is the worſt of all; this is an almoſt perfectly white ſand, yet it bears the pine tree, and ſome other uſeful plants naturally, yielding good profit in pitch, tar, and turpentine: when this ſpecies of land is cleared, for two or three years together it produces very tolerable crops of Indian corn and peaſe, and when it lies low and is flooded it even anſwers well for rice; for this grain, as I have already obſerved, muſt be under water more than half the time of its culture.

But what is the beſt of all for this province, this worſt kind of land is favourable to a ſpecies of the moſt valuable of all its products one of the kinds of indigo.

There

There is another ſort of ground, which lies low and wet, upon ſome of their rivers, this is called *ſwamp*, which in ſome places is in a manner uſeleſs, in others it is far the richeſt of all their grounds; it is a black fat earth, and bears their great ſtaple rice, which muſt have in general a very rich ſoil, in the greateſt plenty and perfection.

The country near the ſea, and at the mouth of the navigable rivers, is much the worſt; for moſt of the land there is of the ſpecies of the pale light ſandy coloured ground, and what is otherwiſe in theſe parts is little better than an unhealthy and unprofitable ſalt marſh.

But the country as you advance in it improves continually, and at an hundred miles diſtance from Charles Town, where it begins to grow hilly, the ſoil is of a prodigious fertility, fitted for every purpoſe of human life.

The air is pure and wholeſome, and the ſummer heats much more temperate than in the flat country, for both the Carolinas are all an even plain, for eighty and ſometimes an hundred or more miles from the ſea; no hill, no rock, ſcarce even a pebble to be met with; ſo that the beſt of the maritime country, from this ſameneſs, muſt want ſomething of that fine effect, which its beautiful products would have by a more variegated and advantageous diſpoſition; but nothing can be imagined more pleaſant to the eye than the back country, and its fruitfulneſs is almoſt incredible.

Wheat grows extremely well there, and yields a prodigious increaſe. In the other parts of South Carolina they raiſe but little, where it is apt to mildew, and ſpend itſelf in ſtraw; and

and these evils the planter takes very little care to redress, as they turn their whole attention to the culture of indigo and rice, which is more profitable, and in which they are unrivalled, being supplied with what wheat and flour they want, in exchange for this grain, from New York and Pensylvania.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIV.

Method of clearing the Land. Vaſt Herds of Cattle, Charles Town. Port Royal. George Town. Wilmington in North Carolina. Brunſwick. Fort Johnſon. American General Howe. Newbern. Bath Town. Pamphlico Sound. Edinton. Albemarle Sound.

THE land in South Carolina is very eaſily cleared every where, as there is little or no underwood.

Their foreſts, which is indeed the whole country, conſiſt moſtly of large and lofty trees at a conſiderable diſtance aſunder, ſo that they can clear in South Carolina more land in a week than in ſome of the foreſts in Europe they can do in a month.

Their method is to cut them down at about a foot from the ground, and then ſaw or ſplit the trees into boards, or convert them into ſtaves, heading, or other ſpecies of lumber, according to the nature of the wood, or the demands of the market.

If they are too far from navigation, they heap them together, and leave them to rot. The roots ſoon decay, and before that they find no inconvenience from them where land is ſo plenty.

The aboriginal animals of this country are in general the ſame with thoſe of Virginia, but there is yet a greater variety of beautiful fowls and birds, among which the humming bird claims the pre-eminence in extreme beauty and delicacy.

All the animals of Europe are here in plenty; black cattle are multiplied prodigiously.

About seventy years ago, it was a thing extraordinary for one planter to have three or four cows; now some have a thousand; in North Carolina, especially in the back parts, a great many more; but to have two or three thousand is very common.

These ramble all day at pleasure in the woods, but their calves being separated from them, and kept in fenced pastures, the cows return every evening to them; they are then milked, detained all night, again milked in the morning, and then let loose.

The hogs range in the same manner, and return like the cows, but not so regularly, by having shelter and some victuals provided for them at the plantation; these are vastly numerous, and many quite wild that never come near the house.

Many horned cattle and horses too run wild in the woods, as I have related in the former volume, though at the first settlement of this country there was not one of these animals in it.

They drive a great many cattle, as well as hogs, down to the sea-ports, to be slaughtered there, and salted for the West-Indies; but the beef is neither so good, nor does it keep near so long, as what is sent to the same market from Ireland.

They also export a considerable number of live cattle to Pensylvania and the West-Indies.

Sheep are not so plenty as the black cattle or hogs, neither is their flesh good, and their wool is very ordinary.

he

The people of South Carolina, while under the mild and eaſy government of Great-Britain, lived in the ſame plentiful and luxuriant manner with the Virginians deſcribed in the former volume.

Poverty was then almoſt an entire ſtranger in this province, and the planters were the moſt hoſpitable people that could be met with, to all ſtrangers, and eſpecially to ſuch as by accident or misfortune were rendered incapable of providing for themſelves.

But now the appearance of this fine province is totally changed ſince the general and unhappy revolt.

There is no longer the face of plenty to be ſeen, nor are the doors of hoſpitality now open to the ſtranger, whoſe life, as well as property, is not even by any means ſecure.

Charles Town is ſo generally known, and has been ſo frequently deſcribed already, that any thing concerning it can be little elſe than a repetition of what has often been mentioned by others; but as ſome account of it will be expected, I ſhall only juſt obſerve, that it lies in latitude thirty-two degrees forty minutes north, and longitude eighty degrees forty minutes weſt, and is the only town in the province, or indeed in all the ſouthern provinces, worthy of notice.

It is the metropolis of South Carolina, and for ſize, beauty, and trade, may be conſidered as one of the firſt cities in Britiſh America.

Charles Town is ſituated on a point of land at the confluence of two navigable rivers, named Aſtley, and Cooper Rivers, one of which is navigable for ſhips twenty miles above the town, and for ſmaller veſſels near forty.

The ſituation is admirably choſen, for almoſt every purpoſe, and it has been long conſidered among the firſt in America for ſtrength, commerce, and beauty.

The harbour is good in every reſpect, but that of a bar, which hinders veſſels of more than two hundred tons burden from entering.

The town is regularly, and at this time very ſtrongly fortified, both by nature and art; the ſtreets are well formed, the houſes are large and well built, ſome of them are of brick, and others of wood, but moſt of them handſome and elegant, and rent is extremely high.

The ſtreets are wide and ſtraight, interſecting each other at right angels, theſe running eaſt and weſt extend about a mile from one river to the other.

It contains about a thouſand houſes, and is the ſeat of the Governor, and the place of meeting of the aſſembly.

The principal courts of juſtice are alſo held here ſtill; a few years ago there were courts of judicature no where elſe in the province; but ſuch are now held alſo at the capital of each of the ſix precincts, which determine all trifling matters, and inferior cauſes.

The neighbourhood of Charles Town is beautiful beyond deſcription.

There is a road particularly ſo, that extends the diſtance of ſix or eight miles, which ſurpaſſes every thing of the kind in the world.

Several handſome equipages are kept here. The planters and merchants are rich and well-bred: the people are ſhowy, and expenſive in their dreſs and way of living; ſo that every thing conſpires to make this the livelieſt, the pleaſanteſt,

eſt, and the politeſt place, as it is one of the richeſt too, in all America.

The large fortunes that have been acquired in this city, from the acceſſion and circulation of its trade, muſt neceſſarily have had great influence on the manners of its inhabitants; for of all the towns in North America it is the one in which the conveniencies of luxury are moſt to be met with.

Conſiderable additions and new works, have been added to the fortifications of Charles Town at very great labour and expence, both by the Americans and Britiſh, ſince the general revolt; a cut or canal has been formed from river to river, acroſs the peninſula, without the town, which now renders it an iſland.

As South Carolina met with infinitely more attention from government than the other provinces, the commerce of this country alone employed an hundred and forty ſhips; and its exports to Great Britain of native commodities, on an average of three years, amounted to more than three hundred and ninety-five thouſand pounds ſterling annual value, and its imports three hundred and ſixty-five thouſand pounds a year.

The trade between South Carolina and the Weſt Indies was very large; that with the Indians was likewiſe in a very flouriſhing condition, and they carried Britiſh goods on packhorſes five or ſix hundred miles into the country weſt of Charles Town.

Charles Town was computed to contain about fifteen or ſixteen thouſand inhabitants, before it was evacuated by the Britiſh; but now it contains ſcarcely that number.

The beſt harbour in this province is to the ſouthward, near the borders of Georgia, named Port Royal.

This might give a capacious and ſafe reception to the largeſt fleets of the greateſt bulk and burden, yet the town, which is called Beaufort, (where we juſt called and remained at one night, on our journey to Charles Town from Savannah) built upon an iſland of the ſame name with the harbour, is not as yet conſiderable, being only an inſignificant ſtraggling village.

We remained in Charles Town only a week, after our return from Ninety-ſix, and ſet out on our journey northward.

On the ſecond day at night we arrived at George Town, on the weſt ſide of Winyah Bay, which is the mouth of the river Peedee deſcribed in the former volume, after croſſing an inconſiderable water-courſe at a ferry, named Sawee, and the large and very fine river Santee, which is the mouth of the rivers Congaree, Wateree, and Catawba, an account of which has alſo been given already.

George Town is the capital of a precinct of the ſame name, has a good harbour for ſmall veſſels, and carries on a conſiderable trade.

It is about twice as large a Beaufort, and may contain about an hundred houſes.

The diſtance from Charles Town to this place is about ſixty-five miles.

We ſtaid in George Town only two days, and then ſet out on our journey, which now lay very near the ſea ſhore.

On the third evening we came to Wilmington, for a conſiderable time the capital of North Carolina, having dined that day at a little town named

named Brunſwick, ſituated on the weſt ſide of Cape Fear River or Bay, and ſixteen miles diſtant from Wilmington.

Wilmington is ſituated on the eaſt ſide of Cape Fear River, which is the entrance into the Atlantic of the Deep River, Little River, and Haw River, formerly deſcribed, and is alſo compoſed of two principal branches, one named the North-weſt River, or North-weſt branch of Cape Fear, which is much the largeſt, the other is called the North-eaſt River, or the north-eaſt branch of Cape Fear, the confluence of which is at Wilmington, and the entrance of this river into the Atlantic is at CapeFear, a remarkable promontory on the American coaſt, a little diſtance from Fort Johnſon which is about nine miles below Brunſwick.

Wilmington has no appearance of ever having been the capital of a province, being nothing better than a village, containing near about two hundred houſes, a few of which however are pretty good and handſome.

There is a very excellent harbour here for ſmall veſſels, but a bar at the mouth prevents large ones from getting in.

It is about one hundred miles from George Town in South Carolina, and one hundred and ſixty-five from Charles Town.

The land around this place is miſerably poor, being nothing but a ſand-bank covered with pines; but Wilmington notwithſtanding carries on a conſiderable trade, eſpecially to the Weſt Indies, and to the northern colonies.

The little town of Brunſwick ſtands in an exceedingly pleaſant ſituation, but is very inconſiderable; nor does it contain more than fifty or ſixty houſes.

Fort Johnſon, which was intended to defend the mouth of this harbour, is a place of no ſtrength, and it is too ridiculous to give it the name of a Fort. However there is annually an eſtabliſhed ſum granted for ſupporting the appearance of a garriſon in it, and alſo under pretence of keeping it in repair.

Here Mr. Robert Howe commanded; a man of no ſmall conſequence in his own eſtimation, who has ſince arrived at the rank of major general in the American army.

Mr. Howe, otherwiſe not an unworthy man, was always ſo very fond of oſtentation, that he almoſt ſtarved his poor wife and family at home, in order that he himſelf might be able to cut a figure every year at the races in Virginia and Maryland.

About eighteen miles from Wilmington is More's Creek Bridge, where the unfortunate North Carolina loyaliſts were defeated.

The ſettlements upon this river and its branches are greatly depopulated, or decreaſed in the number of inhabitants, ſince the general revolt, in a more conſiderable degree perhaps than any other part of America.

After two days ſtay in Wilmington, we purſued our journey to Newbern, where we arrived at the end of three more days, being about ninety-five or an hundred miles from Wilmington.

Newbern, which is now the capital of North Carolina, is ſituated at the confluence of the rivers News and Trent.

It is a pretty little town, ſomewhat larger than Wilmington, and contains ſeveral exceeding good and even elegant houſes.

The

The low grounds on the News and Trent Rivers are here very wide, and uncommonly low; being ſubject to be flooded, there are ſometimes inundations of ſeveral miles in extent, which render this part of the country very unwholeſome.

Newbern is certainly more central than any other town in NorthCarolina, and on that account it is that it is now fixed on to be the metropolis of the province.

We remained only one day in Newbern, and then ſet out for Bath Town, where we arrrived on the following evening, being about thirty-two miles from Newbern.

Bath Town is a pretty little place, ſituated at the extremity of a ſmall bay that comes out of the north ſide of Pamphlico River, which is the mouth of Tar River, and runs into Pamphlico Sound, about twenty-five miles below this place.

This river has already been deſcribed in the firſt volume.

Pamphlico Sound is a prodigious body of water, lying between Cape Hatteras, and the main land or continent, communicating with the ocean by ſeveral inlets, all of which have dangerous bars with ſhallow water upon them; and the bay or ſound itſelf is equally hazardous, being full of ſhoals, and dreadful ſand-banks.

Although this ſound contains ſuch an immenſe body of water, it reeeives no rivers of any note, but News River, and Tar River, which are by no means conſiderable.

We ſet out from Bath Town on the afternoon of the next day, and on the following evening came toDuckenfield, on the ſouth ſide of Albemarle ſound, oppoſite to Edenton, which is forty-five miles from Bath Town.

The ferry being at this place ſeven or eight miles wide, we were obliged to ſtay here all night, and the next day alſo, the wind blowing too hard for the ferry-boats to croſs.

Duckenfield is a moſt delightful and charming ſituation, but the land is poor, as indeed it is every where that way, and the accommodations here are miſerable, as they likewiſe are all along this road the whole way, excepting the towns, and in them your horſes muſt ſuffer.

Neither could we enjoy the beauties of the perſpective, and delightfulneſs of the ſituation of this place, on account of the anxiety of our minds, and the vexation of being detained at it, even in ſight of Edenton, the place where we were ſo deſirous of reaching.

However on the ſecond day the wind abated, and we were carried over this wide and beautiful ſound to Edenton, where we arrived ſoon enough for dinner.

Albemarle Sound is the Mouth of the Roanoak River, a very particular deſcription of which has already been given in the former volume; it alſo receives the waters of the Maherren, Nottoway, Black Water and Chowan Rivers, and contains an immenſe body of water.

It communicates with the ſea by ſeveral inlets, but by reaſon of bars at the mouth of each of them only ſmall veſſels and ſhips of light burden can come into it.

This is a vaſt impediment to the trade of Edenton, and is alſo the great misfortune of all North Carolina.

The town of Edenton ſtands on the north ſide of Albemarle Sound, is about the ſize of Newbern,

Newbern, perhaps ſomething larger, and for a conſiderable time was alſo the capital of the province.

It is by far the moſt pleaſant and beautiful town in North Carolina, and drives on a very conſiderable commerce, although the harbour is but indifferent, beſides the diſadvantages of the bars at the inlets to Albemarle Sound which prevent ſhips of any conſiderable burden from approaching it.

CHAP.

CHAP. LV.

Deſcription of the Country. Diſagreeable and unhealthy. Vaſt Profit in making Tar and Turpentine. Proceſs of making Pitch, Tar, and Turpentine. Exports of North Carolina. South Carolina and Virginia ſhare great Part of the Trade of North Carolina. The great Alligator. Diſmal Swamp. The Great Diſmal. Harbour for wild Beaſts and runaway Negroes.

DURING all this long journey of about three hundred and ninety or four hundred miles, I have ſcarce ſeen any good land ſince I left George Town in South Carolina.

It is all univerſally an immenſe ſandbank covered with pines, which however generally grow very tall and lofty.

It is likewiſe totally a wide extended dead flat, covered in a thouſand places with ſtagnated water, which without doubt muſt be extremely unhealthful; this the ſallow cadaverous complexion and countenances of the inhabitants ſufficiently evince.

However, what is very extraordinary is, that this land that appears, and actually is totally barren and altogether uſeleſs and unfit for any kind of culture, yields more profit to the occupiers, from the ſmalleſt capital imaginable, than can well be conceived was it not ſo well authenticated, and is not to be paralleled in any country in the univerſe.

This

This prodigious profit is derived from making tar, which is one of the moſt eſtimable ſtaples of North Carolina.

In making this commodity, they have not occaſion for more than two, three, or four ſlaves, and they can clear by each ſhare or labourer from one hundred pounds, to two hundred pounds ſterling, and upwards, annually.

The proceſſes of making turpentine, tar, and pitch are as follow.

Being all the produce of one tree, viz. the pine, the turpentine is drawn ſimply from inciſions, or rather notches cut in the tree: they are made from as great a height as a man can reach with an hatchet.

Theſe inciſions meet at the bottom of the tree in a point, where they pour their contents into a veſſel placed there to receive them.

There is nothing farther in this proceſs.

Tar requires a more conſiderable apparatus, and greater trouble.

They prepare a circular floor of clay, declining a little towards the center; from this is laid a pipe of wood, the upper part of which is even with the floor, and reaches ten feet without the circumference; under the end the earth is dug away, and barrels placed to receive the tar as it runs.

Upon the floor is built up a large pile, in form of a circular pyramid, of pine-wood ſplit in pieces, and ſurrounded, or rather covered over with a wall, coat, or body of earth, leaving only a ſmall aperture at the top where the fire is firſt kindled.

When the fire begins to burn, they cover this opening likewiſe, to confine the fire from flaming out,

out, and to leave only ſufficient heat to force the tar downwards to the floor. They temper the heat as they pleaſe, by running a ſtick into the wall or thick coat of clay, and giving it air.

Barrels are placed at the end of the pipe of wood to receive the tar, and are carried away as they are filled, empty ones being put in their places.

Pitch is made by boiling tar in large iron kettles ſet in furnaces, or burning it in round clay holes made in the earth.

Great quantities of pitch, tar, and turpentine are made in this province, and of theſe conſiſts a great part of their exports by ſea.

In the ſouthern parts of North Carolina they make conſiderable quantities of rice and indigo, the chief part of which is ſhipped from South Carolina.

In the northern parts of this province they make a great deal of tobacco, which is chiefly tranſported by land-carriage into Virginia, and ſhipped from thence.

In the back frontiers of North Carolina they raiſe a great many cattle and hogs, and make very conſiderable quantities of butter and flour, almoſt all of which alſo is carried into Virginia to market, beſides the greateſt part of the ſkins and furs which they annually collect.

On the ſea-coaſt and near it, they make large quantities of Indian corn, peas, pitch, tar, and turpentine, all of which only is ſhipped from the ports of this province.

By this it may be readily perceived how difficult a taſk it would be to aſcertain the real annual produce of North Carolina, conſidering the great value of the products of this province which

which are carried every year both to South Carolina and Virginia, bearing the name of, and adding to the exports of theſe provinces.

However the apparent exports of North Carolina are computed at more than ſixty-eight thouſand pounds ſterling annually, and her imports at eighteen thouſand at leaſt.

This I do not conceive to be more than one-third of the produce of the province; nor one-fourth of the value of the goods brought into it, the reſt of which come through the channels of Virginia, and South Carolina, by the means of land-carriage.

So that the annual value of the merchantible products of North Carolina may be about two hundred and ten thouſand pounds ſterling, and her conſumption of European or foreign goods about ſeventy thouſand pounds.

In this view, deducting the proportion of the North Carolina commodities from the exports of Virginia and South Carolina, this province will plainly appear to be of more conſequence and eſtimation than ſhe has hitherto been held in.

No province nor colony on the continent was in a more flouriſhing condition than North Carolina before the general revolt, but ſince that fatal period, and at this preſent time, I believe there is none more truly miſerable and wretched.

The difference between the currency of North Carolina and ſterling is thirty-three and a third per cent, in favour of the latter.

The rates and expence of travelling are not materially different from thoſe already mentioned in the more ſouthern provinces, but accommodations

modations are almoſt every where, eſpecially on and near the ſea-coaſt, intolerably bad, and nothing can be more dreary, melancholy and uncomfortable than the almoſt perpetual ſolitary dreary pines, ſandy barrens, and diſmal ſwamps, that are met with throughout the whole of that part of the country.

But there is a ſwamp in this province which is indeed diſmal far beyond deſcription, and can only be exceeded by another, on the borders next to Virginia, actually diſtinguiſhed by the name of the *Great Diſmal Swamp*, in dreadful and horrid preheminence.

This one firſt mentioned is alſo called the *Great Alligator Diſmal Swamp*, and lies between thoſe two vaſt expanſes of water, or rather ſeas, named Pamphlico and Albemarle Sounds.

This aſtoniſhing and horrible place is about forty miles in length, and about fifteen or twenty in breadth with a large lake in the middle ſeveral miles in diameter. It is reported to be named from a monſtrous Alligator or Crocodile of a moſt prodigious magnitude that once was ſeen here, many of which of the common ſize ſtill infeſt it.

As the account I had of this *Diſmal Swamp* is only from the report of thoſe who have been in and around it, and who reſided in its vicinity, I ſhall defer any farther deſcription of it until I come to mention the *Great Diſmal* itſelf, which I examined perſonally and paſſed through; as I underſtand they bear ſo ſtrong a ſimilitude, that a repreſentation of the one will give a good idea of the other.

At preſent I ſhall only juſt obſerve that theſe places are in a great degree inacceſſible, and harbour prodigious multitudes of every kind of wild beaſts

beaſts peculiar to America, as well as run-away Negroes, who in theſe horrible ſwamps are perfectly ſafe, and with the greateſt facility elude the moſt diligent ſearch of their purſuers.

Run-away Negroes have reſided in theſe places for twelve, twenty, or thirty years and upwards, ſubſiſting themſelves in the ſwamp upon corn, hogs, and fowls, that they raiſed on ſome of the ſpots not perpetually under water, nor ſubject to be flooded, as forty-nine parts out of fifty of it are; and on ſuch ſpots they have erected habitations, and cleared ſmall fields around them; yet theſe have always been perfectly impenetrable to any of the inhabitants of the country around, even to thoſe neareſt to and beſt acquainted with the ſwamps.

We ourſelves travelled upon the edge of this *Great Alligator Diſmal Swamp* the greater part of the way from Bath Town to Duckenfield,

CHAP.

CHAP. LVI.

Leave Edenton. Arrive at Suffolk in Virginia. Deſcription of Suffolk. Smithfield. Pagan's Creek. Croſs James River at Hog-Iſland. Arrive at Williamſburg. Part with Mr. Morris. College of William and Mary at Williamſburg. Foundation of it. Education of Indians. Return to their former ſavage and uncivilized State.

WE remained in Edenton only a few days and then purſued our journey northward, through a country covered with ſand and pines, a continued dead flat, infeſted with ſwamps, and the land every where miſerably poor and barren.

On the ſecond day after we left Edenton in North Carolina we arrived at a town named Suffolk in Virginia, having alſo travelled around on the edge of the *Great Diſmal* the principal part of this journey.

Suffolk is ſituated on a ſmall navigable watercourſe named Nanſimond River, a branch of the James River, which it enters at Crany Iſland on the weſt ſide of Hampton Roads, oppoſite to New Port-Nooſe.

It is ſixty miles from Edenton, and about twenty-two miles within the boundary line of Virginia.

Suffolk contains about an hundred houſes, and carries on a pretty briſk trade, having a very

ry conſiderable ſhare of the commerce of the northern counties of North Carolina.

It is ninety miles from Halifax, and thirty from Norfolk, the road to which from hence is carried round, and through part of the *Great Diſmal*.

Suffolk ſtands on a ſoil ſo very ſandy, that in every ſtep in the ſtreet the ſand comes above your ancles, which renders it extremely diſagreeable; to remedy this inconvenience in ſome ſmall degree, near their doors they have emptied barrels of tar or pitch, which ſpreads wide, the ſand incorporating with it, and forming a hard ſolid conſiſtence, ſome kind of an apology for pavement, and thereby renders walking much more tolerable.

The houſes in Suffolk are low, being generally not more than one ſtory high, which is indeed the ground ſtory only: the river Nanſemond is navigable at and above the town, but there is a wooden bridge over it here, and only ſmall veſſels can come up even to Suffolk.

The trade of this place conſiſts chiefly of turpentine, tar, pitch, tobacco, and pork which is killed, ſalted, and barrelled up here, alſo lumber, Indian corn, and ſome wheat.

We tarried only one day in Suffolk, and on the following afternoon rode through a little town called Smithfield, ſituated upon a ſmall branch of James River named Pagan's Creek.

This town is ſcarcely half as large as Suffolk, and carries on but a very inconſiderable trade, which is chiefly in tobacco, here being an inſpection for that commodity, and public warehouſes likewiſe, named Pagans. Smithfield is about eighteen or twenty miles from Suffolk.

It

It is very unwholeſome on account of extenſive marſhes juſt in its vicinity, and Pagan's Creek is navigable to the town. This creek is croſſed in a ferry boat, which is both diſagreeable and dangerous.

We went about twelve miles beyond Smithfield that night, and next morning arrived at James River.

The weather being fine, and the water remarkably ſmooth and calm, we had a very agreeable paſſage over at a place called Hog Iſland Ferry, and arrived at Williamſburg to dinner.

As the college of William and Mary at Williamſburg, being the only inſtitution of the kind in the ſouthern part of America, has not as yet been adverted to, I ſhall embrace this opportunity of juſt giving a ſketch of its foundation, and preſent eſtabliſhment, before I leave the colony of Virginia, and cloſe this chapter.

This college was founded by the reverend Mr. James Blair, a Scots clergyman, by voluntary ſubſcription, towards which King William and Queen Mary, whoſe names it bears, gave two thouſand pounds ſterling in money, and twenty thouſand acres of land, with authority to purchaſe and hold lands to the annual value of two thouſand pounds, and likewiſe granted it a duty of one penny per pound on all tobacco exported from Virginia to the other plantations. Mr. Blair was the firſt preſident, and continued in that ſituation near fifty years.

There is a preſident, ſix profeſſors, and other officers, who are nominated by the governors and viſitors.

The honourable Mr. Boyle made a very large donation to this college for the education of Indian

dian children; but this part of the inſtitution has not by any means ſucceeded.

Some experiments have evinced that thoſe Indians who have been educated at this college, and thereby brought to civilized and poliſhed manners, have always embraced the firſt opportunity of returning to their former wild habits, and uninformed ſtate, into which they immediately plunged, forgetting and totally loſing every trace of their former civilization, and of all they had been taught. Yet notwithſtanding this, their geniuſſes are found to be bright, and they receive any branch of education with great facility.

Here I ſhall terminate this tour, which has included the greateſt part of the places of note throughout the ſouthern part of the Britiſh ſettlements in North America, after having travelled at leaſt four thouſand eight hundred miles, and undergone a multitude of dangers and extreme fatigue; accompanied, and attended almoſt the whole way, much to my convenience and ſatisfaction, by my faithful back-wood's man, whom at firſt I conſidered a little better than a ſavage, but from whom I found more aſſiſtance than I could poſſibly have received from the moſt complete profeſſed ſervant in Europe. For theſe American back-wood's men can perform a little not only almoſt in every handicraft, or neceſſary mechanical trade, but they poſſeſs a fund of reſources, more ſerviceable on ſuch occaſions than money; for in many places money could not procure them, nor ſupply the wants which are furniſhed by their ready and indeed ſingular contrivances.

I parted

I parted with Mr. Morris about twenty-five miles from Williamſburg who purſued his journey northward after exacting a ſolemn promiſe from me to keep up a correſpondence with him that was only terminated by the unhappy rebellion, which indeed ſubverted every thing.

Having ſettled in Virginia ſoon after this, and being particularly attached to planting, agriculture, and rural amuſements, I continued to employ this faithful back-wood's man as an overſeer, in which capacity he acquitted himſelf as well, and equally to my advantage and ſatisfaction, as he had done during our journey.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVII.

Improvements in Farming. In the Culture of Wheat. In cutting it down. In getting it in and ſtacking it. In threſhing it out of the Straw. In cleaning it from the Chaff. A Machine for that Purpoſe deſcribed.

HAVING changed my place of reſidence from Virginia to Maryland, I entered largely on farming, as well as making tobacco; and on the ſecond year ſowed no leſs than three hundred and fifty-three acres of land in wheat, all in fields adjoining each other, beſides fifty acres in buck-wheat and oats, twelve acres in potatoes, thirty-ſix acres in tobacco, and two hundred acres in Indian corn.

In cultivating this very large crop I only employed fifteen labourers (ſlaves), which were by no means a ſufficient number; but I depended on hiring people in harveſt to get in my wheat as the crops of Indian corn and tobacco would engage every hour of the time of my own people.

That year it had happened, that every conſiderable planter in the country had likewiſe ſown large quantities of wheat, I mean large in reſpect to what they had ever done before, but in no proportion like me, although many of them had more hands. Theſe planters having engaged all the ſpare labourers that were to be hired during harveſt, left me without any reſources for getting in mine, excepting my own people, whoſe hands were already too full of the other crops.

It

It was this extreme diſtreſs for want of hands that firſt induced me to invent and hazard innovations, which experience has proved to be conſiderable improvements, in the uſual methods of agriculture; and as the object thereof was wheat, which makes ſo great a part of the produce of Great Britain, I have ventured to relate, and give ſome deſcription of theſe improvements here, as they may likewiſe be adopted for any other grain cultivated in this climate; and ſhall be extremely happy indeed, if either the public, or any one individual ſhould derive the leaſt benefit or advantage therefrom; but it is from experience alone that its utility can be aſcertained.

I myſelf had the ſtrongeſt impediments to combat with.

The planters in America are wedded to their old methods uſed by their fathers and grandfathers, and entertain the moſt violent prejudices in their favour. This induced them to ridicule me for innovations and improvements, which in fact neceſſity compelled me to diſcover and adopt, to prevent the utter ruin, and entire loſs of my whole crop; yet theſe very perſons, who were the moſt violent againſt theſe new methods, after they ſaw their utility and ſucceſs, and examined the principles on which they were founded, were not only ready enough to adopt the ſame methods themſelves, but alſo did me the honour of conſulting with me, and paid as great attention to my ſentiments and opinions on the ſubject of agriculture, as if I had been the moſt ſkilful, experienced, and old eſtabliſhed planter.

In the firſt place, as it would have been impoſſible to have cut down my grain with common

mon reapers and reap-hooks or ſickles, I was under the neceſſity of having nine of my hands taught to uſe the ſcythe and cradle, with which I had an hundred acres of wheat cut down before I began to get any of it up and ſecured from the weather.

In the next place, I found that binding would have taken up more time than cutting it down, and ſo far from ſecuring the wheat from rain, which in this country is very ſudden and heavy, that the ſheaves ſo wetted were more damaged, more difficult to be re-dried, being obliged to be opened again, than the wheat that lay on the ground unbound without being gathered or raked in heaps; I therefore concluded to lay aſide this operation entirely, and have it drawn in carts unbound; in accompliſhing which I found very little loſs, difficulty, or inconvenience, but thereby ſaved the labour of three days out of four, to what I ſhould have done in binding.

In the third place, as all the tobacco-houſes and barns on my plantation would not have contained one-quarter of the crop of wheat, I had it ſtacked out of doors, on an eminence ſurrounding a large barn, and contiguous to the landing on the river where it would be ſhipped; and ſo far from its being more difficult to be ſtacked unbound, I found that circumſtance a conſiderable advantage; only when the ſtack became high enough for the uſe of a pitchfork in throwing up the wheat, by the ready and expeditious uſe of two cords, that alſo was eaſily accompliſhed without any loſs of time.

In the next place, to prevent loſs and waſte in the fields, both from unſkilful cutting down and carting, I had wooden rakes made eleven feet in length, with very long teeth, and with handles fixed therein pointing towards each other at the extremity, with a ſtrap of leather from one to the other, like the ſhafts of a two-wheeled chaiſe. To each of theſe a man yoked himſelf, and dragged it acroſs the lands, when full, juſt raiſing it over the heap of wheat thus raked together, until the whole field was gone over in this manner; by this means none was loſt, and I obtained three large ſtacks more, containing above an hundred and fifty buſhels of wheat in each.

When the wheat, after it was cut down, was caught in the rain, it received no damage thereby, as it was ſpread thin on the ground, not being raked together; becauſe the ſun, which is ſeldom over-caſt, and is very powerful in this country, immediately dried it again, before it could receive any prejudice.

And the wheat being ſtacked looſe rendered the ricks or ſtacks firmer more even regular and ſecure, being thereby deſtitute of thoſe hollow places, and vacancies, which frequently cauſe the ſtacks made with ſheaves to ſink on one ſide, and ſometimes overſet, beſides occaſioning leaks therein; which admit rain, and by that means often damage the whole.

In the fifth place, as it would have been impoſſible for my people to have been able to threſh out this prodigious quantity of wheat in any reaſonable time, with flails even had they been employed conſtantly at that work, I was therefore obliged to invent ſome method

to

to expedite this operation, and at the ſame time ſave labour.

For this purpoſe I had a circular floor made, one hundred and fifty yards in circumference, and of the width of twelve feet, with a very gentle declivity to the circumference every way. On each ſide of this a fence was made all round the edges of the floor, with ſtakes and wattles, in which were four gates oppoſite to each other, and this floor was made in the moſt commodious part of my wheat-yard, around the large barn in the center.

On this floor I laid down as much wheat in the ſtraw as would yield five hundred buſhels, and having a large ſtock of horſes and cattle, turned them into this circular floor, driving them round ſeparately, the horſes from the cattle, upon the wheat, pretty briſkly, until they trod out the grain from the ſtraw, occaſionally turning them off into a pen or incloſure, until the uppermoſt part of the ſtraw, from which the grain was ſeparated, was taken off.

The wheat being firſt laid on the floor ſloping, with the heads upwards, the cattle and horſes were always driven one way, that is, in the direction in which the wheat lay, and the ſtraw was alſo raked off in the ſame direction, without turning, until ſuch time as the horſes feet touched the ground in ſome places, which is after the laſt raking off of the ſtraw, then what remains upon the floor is turned over, and the horſes and cattle driven round in the oppoſite direction, for the laſt time; after which the ſtraw is all taken off, and the wheat mixed with the chaff, which remains on the floor, puſhed up together in large heaps, with ſquare boards three feet in length and fifteen inches broad, through

the center of which a long ſtick is faſtened for a handle.

The whole of this operation thus far, of ſeparating the wheat from the ſtraw, is performed in one day, to the quantity of five hundred buſhels, with only three or at moſt four hands (labourers.)

But afterwards I found it a taſk equally tedious, difficult, and troubleſome, to ſeparate the grain from the chaff, which I alſo found to engage the labour of more hands than I could ſpare for that purpoſe.

This again obliged me to have recourſe to invention, and,

In the laſt place, I had riddles made of this conſtruction, viz. four feet long, three feet and a half wide, and ſixteen inches deep, with the ſplits very narrow and nearly an inch aſunder each way; this riddle had two long handles like a barrow, and was ſuſpended by cords and a pulley faſtened to the extremity of an elaſtic pole, or long ſpringy ſpar of wood, ſuch as is made uſe of by turners for turning their work in their lathe. The barn in the center of the treading ring-floor had four large doors, one in every direction, over each of which one of theſe ſpars was fixed, and at whatever door the wind came in, this riddle was faſtened thereto, and ſuſpended about three feet from the floor.

A child, by holding the handles, could eaſily work it, by only moving it backwards and forwards; for the elaſticity of the ſpar, to which it was ſuſpended, gave it a play from the leaſt motion; and one perſon could fill it from the heap of wheat mixed with chaff.

By

By means of this contrivance two weak hands, or a man and a boy, could eaſily perform more work at this operation, than could be done by ten ſtrong men with riddles in the uſual way in the ſame ſpace of time.

It was then run through Dutch fans, of which I kept two, to clean it perfectly, and was immediately fit for delivery.

The whole of this ſecond operation, of ſeparating and cleaning five hundred buſhels of grain from the chaff, and rendering it fit for market, was alſo performed in one day only.

So that in four days, with favourable weather, I could by this method and machinery get out a thouſand buſhels of wheat from the ſtraw, ſeparate it from the chaff, clean it, and deliver it, ready for market, with the labour only of five ſlaves, excluſive of thoſe who aſſiſted to lay down the beds of wheat on the circular treading floor, which was generally done ſo early in the morning, as to begin to tread a little after ſunriſe.

It was very fortunate for me that I fell upon theſe inventions and improvements, for thereby I ſaved all my crops, the moſt part if not the whole of which I ſhould otherwiſe certainly have loſt.

My wheat alſo was cleaner, and ſuperior in every reſpect to any in the country around, and it was rendered ſo by the following means.

In the firſt place I had procured Sicilian or forward white wheat for ſeed, which is of the heavy white flinty ſpecies, and ripens about a fortnight ſooner than the common Engliſh or red wheat, than which it is alſo heavier, the flour too is whiter, and makes the moſt eſtimable ſuperfine

flour in the world; this wheat, on that account bearing a ſuperior price to any other. By being more forward than any other wheat, it likewiſe eſcapes the ruſt or ſmut, ſo prejudicial to this crop, and to which, in this country, common wheat is ſo very ſubject.

To prevent my ſeed being mixed with darnel, cheat, or falſe grain, which had begun to infeſt my plantation and fields of wheat, I ſteeped all my ſeed in a brine of ſalt and water ſtrong enough to bear an egg, for the ſpace of ten or twelve hours, and after ſkimming off all that ſwam on the ſurface, I had the ſeed, when taken out of the brine, immediately mixed with fine ſifted ſtrong ſhell lime, ſowed, and plowed in, always within thirty-ſix hours, and generally in twenty-four hours, after it had been firſt put into the brine.

By this means all my fields conſiſted entirely of fine healthful clean wheat, without a ſingle head of darnel or cheat to be diſcovered by the cloſeſt examination; while every crop in the vicinity, and indeed throughout the whole country, was infeſted and filled with cheat and falſe grain.

I made many more experiments, both in the time and method of ſowing this grain, as well as in ſeveral other reſpects, which cannot here be particulariſed.

CHAP.

CHAP. LVIII.

Improvement in cropping. Three crops from one field with only the labour uſed in one. Virginia method of cultivating tobacco. Inſpecting it. Diſuſed at the commencement of the revolt. Great frauds and impoſitions now practiſed in the tobacco trade. Different ſpecies of tobacco. Annual Exports of Virgina and Maryland. Annual Imports.

I Likewiſe diſcovered a method of obtaining three crops from one piece of ground, by the labour only uſed in the culture of one crop.

This was performed in the following manner. Juſt before the laſt ploughing of the Indian corn (called *laying-it-by*,) I had the full quantity of buck or French wheat and Engliſh or Sicilian wheat mixed and ſown together amongſt the Indian corn, a proper and full proportion of ſeed of each; this laſt ploughing of the Indian corn, which I had generally delayed about ten days later than common, ſerved to plough and cover it in, and what the plough did not ſufficiently cover was performed with the hand-hoes made uſe of for chopping round the ſtalks of corn in *laying-it-by*.

Thus the ſeed of two more crops was put in the ground, without any kind of additional expence, excepting the ſowing.

The former four ploughings, which were neceſſarily uſed in the culture of the crop of Indian corn, rendered the ſame ſervice as fallowing the land, and brought it into excellent condition, being thereby perfectly well broke, mellow, and

fit to receive the ſeed wheat. This laſt operation was done about the middle or latter end of July.

The intenſe heat of the ſun in this country, which is really very prejudicial to wheat, was allayed by the Indian corn, then from five to ſeven feet high, which afforded a grateful cooling ſhade, and a beneficial moiſture to the ſeed juſt put in the ground, by which advantages it flouriſhed greatly, and quickly became ſtrong and vigorous; for it received a ſufficient ſhare of the ſun-ſhine to promote its vegetation, and forward its maturity. Neither was this at all prejudicial to the Indian corn, but rather advantageous; for this being a ſeaſon of the year when the weather is remarkably dry for a conſiderable length of time, the Indian corn is apt to be ſcorched and parched up by the extreme heat of the ſun on the roots of the plant, which this young vegetation of the wheat effectually prevents, and alſo affords a ſlight degree of moiſture to the roots of the Indian corn; nor does this deprive it of the ſmalleſt ſhare of its nouriſhment, the roots of the Indian corn being nearly a foot in the earth below the roots of the wheat.

Some time in October, juſt before the froſts ſet in, the buck-wheat is ripe, and is cut down with a ſcythe, amongſt the Indian corn, the ſtalks of which are not touched.

It is ſuffered to remain two or three days in the field, for the ſtraw to dry and cure ſufficiently, it being a very ſucculent juicy plant, and afterwards is gathered together and beaten out with rods, or tobacco-ſticks, for flails would bruiſe the grain, which is ſoft large and triangular very much reſembling beech nuts.

After

After this the wheat continues to vegetate, and to ſpread conſiderably, becoming like a mat all over the ground.

After the Indian corn is gathered, the ſtalks are left ſtanding, which afford an excellent and very neceſſary ſhelter for the young wheat againſt the ſharp and cutting north-weſt winds in winter, which are cold, keen, and penetrating, beyond any thing ever felt in England.

In the ſpring, when the chief part of the cold weather is gone, theſe ſtalks are cut down, gathered together, and carried out of the field, otherwiſe they would not only be prejudicial to the vegetation and growth of the wheat, but would alſo particularly incommode the cutting it down with the ſcythe and cradle which cuts the ſtraw quite cloſe to the ground.

The wheat is got in at the uſual time, generally between the twentieth of June and the twelfth of July.

However this method of cropping ſhould only be adopted in ſtrong rich land, which all mine was, for it will not anſwer ſo well in weak and poor ſoil, as ſuch has generally difficulty enough to produce one tolerable crop.

I was alſo accuſtomed to ſow a quantity of faulty wheat, ſuch as was unfit for ſale or uſe, in my tobacco grounds, when I gave them the laſt ploughing, or *laid them by*, which proved extremely uſeful and beneficial, not only in affording a moſt excellent rich ſucculent paſture for milch-cows, and colts, during the fall and winter, but likewiſe being ploughed in the ſpring, acted as manure, and improved the land.

As the method of cultivating tobacco in Virginia cannot be much, if it all known here, and as a deſcription of it may be agreeable, I ſhall embrace this opportunity of giving juſt a ſketch of the manner of producing that narcotic plant which has become a commodity ſo beneficial to commerce.

Several rich, moiſt, but not too wet ſpots of ground are choſen out, in the fall, each containing about a quarter of an acre, or more, according to the magnitude of your crop, and the number of plants it may require.

Theſe ſpots, which are generally in the woods, are cleared, and covered with bruſh or timber, for five or ſix feet thick and upwards, that is ſuffered to remain upon it until the time when the tobacco ſeed muſt be ſowed, which is within twelve days after Chriſtmas.

The evening is commonly choſen to ſet theſe places on fire, and when every thing thereon is conſumed to aſhes the ground is dug up, mixed with the aſhes and broken very fine; the tobacco-ſeed, which is exceedingly ſmall, being mixed with aſhes alſo, is then ſown, and juſt raked in lightly; the whole is immediately covered with bruſh for ſhelter to keep it warm, and a ſlight fence thrown around it.

In this condition it remains until the froſts are all gone, when the bruſh is taken off, and the young plants are expoſed to the nutritive and genial warmth of the ſun, which quickly invigorates them in an aſtoniſhing degree, and ſoon renders them ſtrong and large enough to be removed for planting, eſpecially if they be not ſown too thick.

Every

Every tobacco planter, aſſiduous to ſecure a ſufficient quantity of plants, generally has ſeveral of theſe plant-beds in different ſituations, ſo that if one ſhould fail another may ſucceed; and an experienced planter commonly takes care to have ten times as many plants as he can make uſe of.

In theſe beds along with the tobacco they generally ſow kale, colewort, and cabbage-ſeeds, &c. at the ſame time.

There are ſeven different kinds of tobacco, particularly adapted to the different qualities of the ſoil on which they are cultivated, and each varying from the other. They are named Hudſon, Frederick, Thick-joint, Shoe-ſtring, Thick-ſet, Sweet-ſcented, and Oroonoko.

But although theſe are the principal, yet there are a great many different ſpecies beſides, with names peculiar to the ſituations, ſettlements, and neighbourhoods, wherein they are produced, which it would be too tedious here to ſpecify and particulariſe.

The ſoil for tobacco muſt be rich and ſtrong.

The ground is prepared in this manner; viz. after being well broke up, and by repeated working, either with the plough or hand hoes, rendered ſoft, light, and mellow, the whole field is made into hills, each to take up the ſpace of three feet and flattened on the top.

In the firſt rains, which are here called ſeaſons, after the vernal equinox, the tobacco plants are carefully drawn while the ground is ſoft, carried to the field where they are to be planted, and one dropped upon every hill which is done by

by the negro-children; the moſt ſkilful ſlaves then begin planting them, by making a hole with their finger in each hill, inſerting the plant with the tap-root carefully placed ſtraight down, and preſſing the earth cloſe on each ſide of it. This is continued as long as the ground is wet enough to enable the plants to take root, or there be plants ſufficiently grown to draw and ſet; and it requires ſeveral different ſeaſons, or periods of rain, to enable them to complete planting their crop, which operation is frequently not finiſhed until July.

After the plants have taken root, and begin to grow, the ground is carefully weeded, and worked either with-hand hoes or the plough, according as it will admit. After the plants have conſiderably increaſed in bulk, and begin to ſhoot up, the tops are pinched off, and only ten, twelve, or ſixteen leaves left, according to the quality of the tobacco and the ſoil.

The worms alſo are carefully picked off and deſtroyed, of which there are two ſpecies that prey upon tobacco.

One is the ground-worm, which cuts it off juſt beneath the ſurface of the earth, this muſt be carefully looked for, and trodden to death. It is of a dark-brown colour, and ſhort.

The other is the horn worm, ſome inches in length, as thick as your little finger, of a vivid green colour, with a number of pointed excreſſences, or feelers, from his head like horns: theſe devour the leaf, and are always upon the plant.

As it would be endleſs labour to keep their hands conſtantly in ſearch of them, it would be almoſt

almoſt impoſſible to prevent their eating up more than half the crop had it not been diſcovered that turkeys are particularly dexterous at finding them, eat them up voraciouſly, and prefer them to every other food. For this purpoſe every planter keeps a flock of turkeys, which he has driven into the tobacco grounds every day by a little negroe that can do nothing elſe; theſe keep his tobacco more clear from horn worms, than all the hands he has got could do, were they employed ſolely for that end.

When the tops are nipped off, a few plants are left untouched for ſeed. On the plants that have been topped young ſprouts are apt to ſpring out, which are termed ſuckers, and are carefully and conſtantly broken off leſt they ſhould draw too much of the nouriſhment and ſubſtance from the leaves of the plant. This operation is alſo performed from time to time, and is called *ſuckering tobacco.*

For ſome time before it is ripe, or ready for cutting, the ground is perfectly covered with the leaves which have increaſed to a prodigious ſize; and then the plants are generally about three feet high.

When it is ripe, a clammy moiſture or perſpiration comes forth upon the leaves which appear as it were ready to become ſpotted, and they are then of a great weight and ſubſtance.

When the tobacco is cut it is done when the ſun is powerful, but not in the morning nor evening: the plant if large is ſplit down the middle three or four inches, and cut off two or three inches below the extremity of the ſplit: it is then turned directly bottom upwards, for the ſun to kill it more ſpeedily, to enable the ſlaves

to

to carry it out of the field, elſe the leaves would break off in tranſporting it to the ſcaffolds.

The plants are cut only as they become ripe, for a whole field never ripens together. There is generally a ſecond cutting likewiſe, for the ſtalk vegetates, and ſhoots forth again; and in good land with favourable ſeaſons there is ſometimes a third cutting alſo cured; notwithſtanding acts of the legiſlature to prevent cutting tobacco even a ſecond time.

When the tobacco plants are cut and brought to the ſcaffolds, which are generally erected all round the tobacco houſes, they are placed with the ſplit acroſs a ſmall oak ſtick an inch and better in diameter and four feet and a half long, ſo cloſe as each plant juſt to touch the other without bruiſing or preſſing; theſe ſticks are then placed on the ſcaffold, with the tobacco thus ſuſpended in the middle to dry or cure, and are called *tobacco ſticks*.

As the plants advance in curing the ſticks are removed from the ſcaffolds out of doors into the tobacco houſe, on other ſcaffolds erected therein in ſucceſſive regular gradation from the bottom to the top of the roof, being placed higher as the tobacco approaches to a perfect cure, until the houſe is all filled, and the tobacco quite cured; and this cure is frequently promoted by making fires on the floor below.

When the tobacco houſe is quite full, and there is ſtill more tobacco to bring in, all that is within the houſe is ſtruck or taken down, and carefully placed in bulks, or regular rows one upon another, and the whole covered with traſh tobacco, or ſtraw, to preſerve it in a proper condition,

dition, that is moiſt, which prevents its waſting and crumbling to pieces.

But to enable them to ſtrike the cured tobacco, they muſt wait for what is there called a ſeaſon, that is rainy or moiſt weather, when the plants will then bear handling, for in dry weather the leaves would all crumble to pieces in the attempt. By this means a tobacco houſe may be filled two, three, or four times in one year.

Every night the negroes are ſent to the tobacco houſe to ſtrip, that is to pull off the leaves from the ſtalks, and tie them up in hands or bundles; this is alſo their daily occupation in rainy weather. In ſtripping they are careful to throw away all the ground leaves, and faulty tobacco, binding up none but what is merchantable. The hands or bundles thus tied up are alſo laid in what is called a bulk, and covered with the refuſe tobacco or ſtraw, to preſerve their moiſture.

After this the tobacco is carefully packed in hogſheads, and preſſed down with a large beam laid over it, on the ends of which prodigous weights are ſuſpended, the other end being inſerted with a mortice in a tree, cloſe to which the hogſhead is placed; this vaſt preſſure is continued for ſome days, and then the caſk is filled up again with tobacco until it will contain no more; after which it is headed up, and carried to the public warehouſes for inſpection.

At theſe warehouſes two ſkilful planters conſtantly attend, and receive a ſalary from the public for that purpoſe. They are ſworn to inſpect, with honeſty, care, and impartiality, all the tobacco that comes to the warehouſe, (and none is allowed to be ſhipped without being regularly inſpected.)

The

The caſk is taken off, and the tobacco is opened by means of large long iron wedges, and great labour, in ſuch places as the inſpectors direct; after this ſtrict and attentive examination, if they find it good and merchantable, it is replaced in the caſk, weighed at the public ſcales, the weight of the tobacco, and of the caſk alſo, cut in the wood on the caſk, ſtowed away in the public warehouſes, and a note given to the proprietor, which he diſpoſes of to the merchant, and neither ſees nor has any trouble with his tobacco more.

The weight of each hogſhead muſt be nine hundred and fifty pounds neat, excluſive of the caſk, for leſs a note will not be given under the name of a Crop hogſhead; however the general weight is from a thouſand to twelve or thirteen hundred pounds neat.

But if the tobacco is found to be totally bad, and refuſed as unmerchantable, the whole is publicly burnt, in a place ſet apart for that purpoſe.

However, if it be judged that there is ſome merchantable tobacco in the hogſhead, the owner muſt unpack the whole publicly on the ſpot, for he is not permitted to take any of it away again, and muſt ſelect and ſeparate the good from the bad; the laſt is immediately committed to the flames, and for the firſt he receives a Transfer note, ſpecifying the weight, quality, &c.

This great and very laudable care was taken by the public to prevent frauds, which however was not always effectual; for even with all theſe precautions many acts of iniquity and impoſition were committed.

But

But how many more are to be expected now in that line, when each obſtacle and impediment to frauds and impoſition is removed, and the door is opened wide to every ſpecies of iniquity, deceit, and wicked artifice?

Immediately on the commencement of the rebellion theſe inſpectors of tobacco were all ſet aſide, and every planter ſhipped or ſold all the traſh he could make and pack up.

Thus it has continued; and in this hopeful ſtate remains the whole tobacco trade of the United States of America at preſent.

This grand ſtaple of both Virginia and Maryland was cultivated in both theſe provinces, previous to the rebellion, to a very great extent.

Virginia exported at leaſt an hundred thouſand hogſheads of tobacco, annually, of about one thouſand pounds each; of which between ten and fifteen thouſand might be the produce of North Carolina.

Maryland exported between forty and fifty thouſand hogſheads alſo every year.

From this province, as well as from the greater part of Virginia, beſides Indian corn, proviſions, ſkins, lumber, hemp, and ſome iron, there were very large quantities of wheat and flour exported. Of wheat from Virginia not leſs than five hundred thouſand buſhels, and from Maryland at leaſt ſix hundred thouſand buſhels annually; beſides perhaps fifteen thouſand barrels of flour from each province, were ſhipped for Europe and the Weſt Indies.

The total amount of the exports of both theſe provinces before the revolt might amount to nine hundred thouſand pounds ſterling annually, and their imports at leaſt to a million ſterling every year.

CHAP.

CHAP. LIX.

Set out on another Journey. The Potowmack, a Deſcription of it. A moſt beautiful River. General Waſhington. An Account of him and Mrs. Waſhington. Chotank. Falmouth. Frederickſburg. An Innkeeper, named Weeden, an American General. Dr. Mercer, an American General. The Rappahannock. The northern Creek of Virginia. Stanton. Green Briar River. Colonel Lewis. Indian War. The Great Kanhawah and Ohio. Severe Action. Indians defeated. A Stratagem in Buſh-Fighting. The Earl of Dunmore penetrates into the Heart of the Indian Country, burns their Towns and concludes a Peace.

I Undertook another very conſiderable journey, in conſequence of a moſt preſſing invitation from two gentlemen, ſons to Colonel Andrew Lewis, of Green Briar River, in Virginia. This journey was to the Green Briar and the Great Kanhawah Rivers, through the new countries of Fincaſtle and Weſt Auguſta.

One of theſe gentlemen having married a conſiderable planter's daughter in my neighbourhood, we had contracted an intimacy, and I agreed to accompany him on his return to the back country.

As ſeveral very ſingular occurrences happened during this journey worthy of notice, I have choſen it out, in preference to many others which I have made, judging the relation might not prove unacceptable.

We

We croſſed the Potowmack at Hoes Ferry from Maryland into Virginia, where the river is ſomething more than three miles wide.

Here we were not a little diverted at a reply made by the owner of this ferry to a perſon enquiring after the health of one of his neareſt relations.

This gentleman, as well as moſt of his family being remarkably attached to the uſe of hard words and a turgid bombulous ſtyle, which they conſidered as inſignia of dignity and ſuperior conſequence, had made it his ſtudy to convey all his ideas and thoughts, even in common converſation, in the language of pompoſity and affected oſtentation, in ſuch a degree as to render himſelf altogether unintelligible to the common people, who at beſt are ſufficiently ignorant in any country; and of this peculiarity all the family were not a little proud.

As the anſwer he made to this perſon concerning his father's health was ſo completely clothed in the dreſs of formal circumlocution, I ſhall repeat it here in his own words, as a curioſity in its way.

" Sir, (ſaid he,) the intenſe frigidity of the cir-
" cumambient atmoſphere had ſo congealed the
" pellucid aqueous fluid of the enormous river
" Potowmack, that with the moſt eminent
" and ſuperlative reluctance, I was conſtrained
" to procraſtinate my premeditated egreſſion to
" the Palatinate Province of Maryland for the
" medical, chemical, and Galenical coadjuvan-
" cy and co-operation of a diſtinguiſhed ſana-
" tive ſon of Eſculapius, until the peccant de-
" leterious matter of the Athritis had pervaded
" the cranium, into which it had aſcended and
" pene-

" penetrated, from the inferior pedeſtrial ma-
" jor digit of my paternal relative in conſangui-
" nity, whereby his morboſity was magnified ſo
" exorbitantly as to exhibit an abſolute extin-
" guiſhment of vivification."

This ſingular and bombaſtic genius is a near relation of the American General Waſhington, and it would certainly afford high entertainment to hear this gentleman's account of his relation's feats of proweſs, and the unexpected ſucceſs of the Americans.

This river is the boundary between Virginia and Maryland from its mouth to its ſource, in which laſt mentioned province the river is included as far as high water mark on the Virginia ſhore, conſequently all the iſlands therein are in Maryland.

The Potowmack is certainly the moſt noble, excellent, and beautiful river I ever ſaw, indeed it can be excelled by no other river in the univerſe.

Its entrance into the Cheſapeak is near an hundred miles from the Atlantic. It is navigable for the largeſt ſhips as far as Alexandria, and even to George Town, which is cloſe to the falls and eight miles above Alexandria, about two hundred miles along with the courſe of the river from its mouth, and three hundred miles from the ſea.

The breadth is generally from two miles to ſix miles and upwards; at the mouth, from Smith's Point it is twenty-five miles over to the other ſide at Point Lookout.

The ſituations and gentlemen's ſeats on this river are beyond compariſon or deſcription beautiful

Every

Every advantage, every elegance, every charm, that bountiful nature can beſtow, is heaped with liberality and even profuſion on the delightful banks of this moſt noble and ſuperlatively grand river. All the deſirable variety of land and water, woods and lawns, hills and dales, tremendous cliffs and lovely vallies, wild romantic precipices and ſweet meandring ſtreams adorned with rich and delightful meadows, in ſhort all the elegance, beauty, and grandeur that can be conceived in perſpective, are here united, to feaſt the ſight and ſoul of thoſe who are capable of enjoying the luxurious and ſumptuous banquet.

To deſcribe the moſt delightful and charming ſituations and villas on this majeſtic river would far exceed the bounds of a volume; merely to enumerate a few of the moſt ſtriking, is all I can here undertake, beginning at Alexandria, a little below the falls.

On the Virginia ſide Mr. Alexander's, General Waſhington's, Colonel Martin's, Colonel Fairfax's, Mr Lawſon's near the mouth of Oquaquan, Colonel Maſon's, Mr. Lee's near the mouth of Oquaquan, Colonel Maſon's, Mr. Lee's near the mouth of Quantico, Mr. Brent's, Mr. Mercer's Mr. Fitzhugh's, Mr. Alexander's of Boydſhole and all Chotank, Colonel Frank Thornton's on Marchodock, Mr. Thacker Waſhington's Mrs. Blair's, Mr. M'Carty's, Colonel Phil. Lee's of Nominy, all the cliffs of Nominy, Yocomico, Wicocomcio, &c. are among the multitude of extremely fine ſituations, all ſo very beautiful that none can claim the pre-eminence.

In Maryland, Mr. Addiſon's, Mrs. Addiſon's, as well as George Town and Bladenburg, Mr. Roſier's, Mr. Digg's, General Smallwood's,

Smallwood's, Mr. Dent's, Mr. Harriſon's, Mr. Brent's, a Roman Catholic prieſt Father Hunter's, General Dent's, Mr. Phil. Fendall's, Mr. Lee's, Mr. Compton's, Mr. Sly's, the Roman Catholic prieſt Mr. Lewis's, Mr. Clark's, Mr. Wolſtenholme's, Mr. Smyth's, &c. &c. cannot be exceeded in elegance and beauty of ſituation, although there are hundreds of places beſides on this extenſive river that do equal them.

After we had paſſed this noble river we entered one of the moſt agreeable as well as reſpectable ſettlements in Virginia, named Chotank. In this place Mr. George Waſhington was born, who has become ſomewhat diſtinguiſhed for being at the head of an inactive timid army which never performed a gallant exploit, yet have ſucceeded in their purſuits far beyond even their moſt ſanguine expectations or hopes.

General Waſhington is deſcended from a family of good repute, in the middle rank of life, now reſiding in this ſettlement of Chotank, every individual planter throughout this numerous and extenſive ſettlement being actually related to him by blood.

He received a common, but by no means liberal education, and made the principal part of his fortune by marriage, although he has no children to inherit it.

Mrs. Waſhington is of a family named Dandridge, ſome of whom formerly were officers in the royal navy, and was the widow of Colonel Cuſtos, who poſſeſſed an immenſe fortune for Virginia, and having two children by her left her his ſole executrix as well as guardian to his children.

By

By this marriage Mr. Washington obtained poſſeſſion of the whole of Cuſtos's large eſtates. Being remarkable for œconomy, induſtry, and good management, he ſoon acquired a fortune for himſelf nearly equal to that of Cuſtos.

And, in the former war having been an officer in the Virginia regiment, the command of which at length devolved on him, being ſenſible, cool, and very popular, the command of the American army was offered to him for two reaſons; firſt, becauſe he was the only public man then known, either calculated to command, or proper to be entruſted therewith; and the next reaſon was, becauſe thereby they ſecured the attachment of the whole colony of Virginia, the moſt extenſive, the richeſt, and the moſt powerful of all the provinces.

Mr. Waſhington has uniformly cheriſhed and ſteadfaſtly purſued an apparently mild, ſteady, but aſpiring line of conduct, and views of the higheſt ambition, under the moſt ſpecious and effectual of all cloaks, that of moderation, which he has invariably appeared to profeſs. This has been evinced by a multitude of inſtances, but particularly by his accepting the continuance of the chief command of the American army, after the Congreſs had ſuddenly declared for Independence, of which meaſure he always before affected to diſapprove and on that account pretended to be inclined to reſign the command, an intention of all others the moſt diſtant from his mind.

His total want of generous ſentiments, and even of common humanity, has appeared notoriouſly in many inſtances, and in none more than his ſacrifice of the meritorious, but unfortunate Major Andrè.

As

As a General he is equally liable to cenſure, which is well known even to every *intelligent Frenchman* who has been in America, as well as to every perſon whatſoever who has had any opportunity of obſerving his military operations: nor during his life has he ever performed a ſingle action that could entitle him to the leaſt ſhare of merit or praiſe, much leſs of glory.

But as a politician he has certainly diſtinguiſhed himſelf; having by his political manœuvres and his cautious plauſible management raiſed himſelf to a degree of eminence in his own country unrivalled, and of conſiderable ſtability.

However in his private character he has always been reſpectable, and highly eſteemed; and has ſupported a name fair and worthy.

As we rode along the heights of Chotank, and ſome diſtance beyond it, we could plainly ſee the ſouth-weſt or Blue Mountains, which were at leaſt eighty or an hundred miles from that place.

After paſſing through a ſmall town named Falmouth, at the falls of the river Rappahannock, we croſſed that river in a ferry-boat, and arrived at Frederickſburg, putting up at an inn or public houſe kept by one Weedon, who is now a general officer in the American army, and was then very active and zealous in blowing the flames of ſedition.

Frederickſburg is ſituated on the banks of the river Rappahannock, about a mile and a half below the falls. It is a very handſome town, conſiderably larger than Suffolk, but inferior to Williamſburg; part of the town is built on a conſiderable aſcent, which is extremely pleaſant.

Oppoſite

Oppoſite to Frederickſburg, on a fine commanding eminence, there is a beautiful ſeat the property of a Mr. Fitzhugh, and juſt above Falmouth there is a very valuable forge, and iron-works, belonging to a Mr. Hunter.

The Rappahannock is navigable to the falls, about a mile and a half above Frederickſburg, at which place the little town of Falmouth has been erected. This certainly is a fine river, but not to be compared to the Potomack, nor is it ſo large as the James; however it is navigable between eighty and an hundred miles, and is generally from half a mile to five miles in breadth. There are alſo a multitude of fine ſituations on the banks of this river; but after one has ſeen the Potomack, and the grand majeſtic perſpectives thereon, all others are totally eclipſed.

This river, from the ſource in the Blue Ridge, where it is called Rapid-Anne River, to its entrance into the Bay of Cheſapeak, which is about twenty-one miles to the ſouthward of the Potomack, is the boundary between that part of Virginia belonging to the king, which is on the ſouth ſide, and the northern neck, whereof lord Fairfax is proprietor, which lies between this river and the Potomack, comprehending a large and vaſt valuable territory eſtimated at the annual value of fifteen thouſand pounds ſterling to his lordſhip.

The length of the Rappahannock, from its ſource to the Bay of Cheſapeak, is about a hundred and fifty or two hundred miles in direct lines, this river alſo running in a remarkable ſtraight courſe.

But the Potomack is at leaſt three hundred and fifty, or perhaps four hundred miles in extent

in direct lines; and including its multitude of bendings, for which it is particularly distinguished, it cannot be less than five hundred miles, of which about two hundred are navigable for the largest ships.

In Frederickſburg I called upon a worthy and intimate friend Dr. Hugh Mercer, a phyſician of great merit and eminence, and as a man poſſeſſed of almoſt every virtue and accompliſhment. He was a native of Scotland, was bred to phyſic and ſurgery, but having a talent for military affairs, left the line of healing for that of war, in which he ſoon diſtinguiſhed himſelf, and acquired the provincial rank of Lieutenant-Colonel during the former war, wherein he had ſerved with great credit and character, had been dangerouſly wounded, and ſurmounted many great perils and difficulties. Dr. Mercer was afterwards a Brigadier-General in the American army; to accept of which appointment I have reaſon to believe he was greatly influenced by General Waſhington, with whom he had been long in habits of intimacy and bonds of friendſhip; for Dr. Mercer was generally of a juſt and moderate way of thinking, poſſeſſed liberal ſentiments and a generoſity of principle very uncommon among thoſe with whom he embarked.

This worthy but miſtaken and unfortunate perſon was killed at Prince town in the Jerſeys, where he was then commanding in the American army as one of their Brigadier-Generals. The loſs to them was great, and truly lamented by his friend General Waſhington.

In this town alſo lived another Mr. Mercer named James, whoſe profeſſion was the law, and who afterwards became a member of the Congreſs;

Congreſs; but his family was from Ireland, and no way related to the other.

We left Frederickſburg on the ſecond day, and purſued our journey weſtward; paſſing by Orange Court-houſe, going up on the weſt ſide of Rapid-Anne River, croſſing the Rippanna River, and the South-weſt or Blue Mountains, and fording the South River and a number of other branches of the river Shannandore, we arrived at the town of Stanton in Auguſta county, on the third day after we left Frederickſburg.

Stanton is a pretty large town, conſidering it lies beyond the mountains, and carries on a briſk inland trade, a great ſhare of which appeared to be in the hands of two merchants named George and Samſon Matthews, natives of Ireland; which almoſt all the inhabitants in this part of the country alſo ſeem to be. Meſſ. Matthews were very intelligent perſons, ſhewed us many civilities which rendered two days that we remained in Stanton very agreeable, and greatly to our ſatisfaction they alſo accompanied us to the Green Briar and the Kanhawah.

Stanton is ſituated in that remarkably rich and fertile valley between the South mountain or Blue Bridge and the North mountain or the Great Ridge, within a few miles of the foot of the Great North Ridge.

It is not built on any water-courſe, the neareſt to it being at two miles diſtance and is a branch of the South river or Shannandore, the head ſpring of which is not far from this town.

Our company being thus increaſed, we left Stanton on the third day, and began to travel through a country extremely rough, rocky, and mountainous, which is named Auguſta County,

being very large and extenſive, and Stanton is the capital.

After croſſing the Great North Mountain, paſſing through the Calf Paſture, and the Cow Paſture, we came to Jackſon's mountain; the road over which being intolerably bad, we found greater difficulty in croſſing this mountain than any we had come over hitherto. However having at length accompliſhed it, we croſſed Jackſon's River, a branch of the Fluvannah River or the upper branch of the James River, and afterwards croſſing ſome more mountains, we fell in upon the Green Briar River, at Howard's Creek, and arrived at Colonel Lewis's juſt four days after we left Stanton.

This journey was extremely fatiguing, and by no means agreeable, although we met with inhabitants all the way, and better accommodations than could be expected in that remote part of the country.

The Green Briar River is not ſo large as the New River, at the junction of which is formed the Great Kanhawah; but however it is a very conſiderable ſtream of water, extremely pleaſant, with abundance of moſt excellent land upon its banks.

All the way as we advanced we heard many alarming, although vague reports about the Indian war; but when we arrived at Colonel Lewis's we found the whole ſettlement in confuſion.

Colonel Lewis had raiſed all the militia of the back country, neareſt to him, and had marched down the Great Kanhawah, in conſequence of orders he had received from the Earl of Dunmore, then Governor of Virginia, who had alſo marched

marched out in perſon againſt the Indians by the way of Pittſburg.

Captain John Lewis, who had been lately married, being taken ill, was unable to proceed after his father and the troops under his command, notwithſtanding his extreme deſire of following them as he had a company there; but his brother Thomas, the two Mathews's, and I, having croſſed the river, puſhed forward with all the expedition we could make to come up with them. However they had reached the mouth of the Great Kanhawah a conſiderable time before we arrived at their camp, for with all the diſpatch we could poſſibly make uſe of, it was four ſevere days journey, notwithſtanding we travelled at the rate of forty miles a day.

Here I was not a little ſurpriſed as well as pleaſed to meet with two old acquaintances, viz. Major Fields, whoſe houſe I had been at, and by whom we had been very hoſpitably entertained on the Miſſiſſippi, who as well as myſelf had come to this place accidentally; the other was Major Lewis, my former fellow-traveller ſo long, with whom I had parted at Charles Town, and whoſe habitation was in Auguſta County through which we had paſſed.

I was exceedingly happy to ſee him, having always greatly eſteemed and reſpected him. Here we again became inſeparable companions, for his ſentiments, inclinations, and manners were more congenial to mine than any other perſon's in the camp.

Major Lewis was alſo the life and ſoul of the troops. They eſteemed, reſpected and loved him; for he was really active and enterpriſing, good-natured, generous, and brave.

There was a company for each of Colonel Lewis's ſons, and but one of theſe gentlemen being preſent, I, who on this expedition was only a volunteer, had the honour of being appointed to the temporary command of the abſent officer's men, if a ſet of white ſavages, without regularity, order, or diſcipline, can be ſaid to be under command.

However as this was intended as a compliment paid to me, I very chearfully accepted it, for it was neither trouble nor expence to me, and I had and expected no emolument or advantage therefrom.

When we entered the camp we found it a ſcene of confuſion and filth, with only a very ſlender appearance of military order and diſcipline; however we were ſcarce arrived therein before an action enſued, entirely by chance, more conſiderable and obſtinate than any that has been fought with the Indians for many years paſt, in which, although the Indians were unfortunate, yet they gained and merited a high degree of military honour, merit, and applauſe.

This camp was ſituated near the banks of the Great Kanhawah, and was injudiciouſly choſen on ſeveral accounts; particularly becauſe the ſpring, from whence a great part of the water uſed by the troops was procured, was certainly too far diſtant: nor was that ſpring covered with a piquet, nor ſecured by any other method of defence.

It is true there was water much nearer, and indeed almoſt cloſe to the camp, but it was neither ſo good in itſelf as the water of this ſpring, nor even fit for uſe, being beſides, by a deficiency

cy in regulations and want of discipline, always kept foul and dirty.

With both his flanks and his front covered by the vast rivers Ohio and Great Kanhawah, Colonel Lewis considered himself as perfectly secure; but especially as he had lately received intelligence that the Earl of Dunmore was advanced as far into the Indian country as the river Hockhocking with eight or nine hundred men, which by all accounts were under much better discipline and subordination than ours, being then on his march to penetrate into the heart of the Shawnese nation, and to destroy their towns.

If any thing could excuse a commanding officer's ideal security, it would be such a situation as this; but there can never be any defence, apology, or extenuation for the least slackness of discipline, or remissness of any kind in the military line; for a good officer, commanding an army, a regiment, or a detachment, ought always to make use of every precaution and vigilance as if he was constantly in the face of, and in danger of being attacked by, a superior enemy; for the least relaxation may be of fatal consequence, and never can admit even of a palliation.

We ourselves, viz. Major Lewis, Captain Lewis and I, had for two days reconnoitered the country for ten miles around, without discovering the least appearance of an enemy; but on the third morning after our arrival, the whole camp was not a little alarmed at a considerable firing, just by the spring already mentioned, which continued to increase, and at length became very heavy.

This circumſtance was ſingular enough, and was thus occaſioned.

The Shawneſe, joined by the Delawares, the Mingos, and ſome other warriors of different nations, to the number of near nine hundred, had advanced from the Shawneſe town, which is ſixty miles up the Siotto River, had marched no leſs than ſeventy-five miles in two days, had croſſed the large river Ohio, which is by far more conſiderable than the Danube, without either ſhips, boats, canoes, or pontoons, and without implements or time for making any, upon *rafts*, which they formed inſtantly from the trees growing on the banks by means only of their tomahawks.

All this they performed with the utmoſt ſecrecy, in the face of one ſuperior enemy in their front, and nearly in the face of another equal to them in their rear; and approached within one mile indeed little more than half a mile of our camp without being diſcovered. All this they did without the aſſiſtance of cannon or cavalry.

This action commenced entirely by accident, as I have already obſerved, which was a fortunate circumſtance for us, as they intended to ſurprize us in our camp; and had they been able to have done ſo, it muſt certainly have proved fatal, conſidering our great deficiency in point of diſcipline and precaution, notwithſtanding our ſuperiority in numbers, for there might be more than twelve hundred men under Colonel Lewis's command.

Early that morning, viz. on the tenth of October, ſome of our men having met a few Indians who had alſo come to that ſpring (formerly mentioned) for water, immediately fired upon them, and

and they returned it. Each ſide was reinforced, until the action became very ſevere and almoſt general, and was maintained with great obſtinacy by both armies during the principal part of the day; but their manner of fighting was totally different from any thing of the kind in Europe, and it was that alone enabled both ſides to continue the engagement for ſuch a length of time, without one or both being entirely cut off.

Every man ran to a tree for cover, from behind which he fired upon the enemy, whenever he could diſcover any of them in a vulnerable ſituation; this care in firing was however more the practice of the Indians, who ſeldom threw away any of their ſhot promiſcuouſly, and did all in their power to fire with effect. Our men alſo took the ſame precautions to cover themſelves from the muſquetry of the enemy, but were by no means ſo frugal of powder and ball, which they waſted without much regard to aim.

In this manner of fighting, want of ſubordination is of leſs prejudice than in any other, and officers are of leſs ſervice and conſequence; as here appeared to be no manœuvres, no turning of flanks, no charging with bayonets, for nothing was ſeen or heard but a perpetual popping from all quarters; and one ſide could not attempt to turn the flank of the other, becauſe they could immediately extend it as far as that of the firſt.

In this ſituation, with little advantage on either ſide, Major Field, Major Lewis, and I (having been cloſe together all day), diſcovered a ravine, or large hollow way, in the rear of the

enemy, which was full of trees and thick underwood, and seemed to be unsecured.

It immediately occurred to us that if we could be able to march a small detachment by a circuitous route to seize on that ravine, and under cover of it attack them suddenly in the rear, it must decide the fate of the day in our favour.

Upon this Major Lewis and I went and desired Colonel Lewis, (who, for what reason I am ignorant, had not left the camp all day,) to furnish us with this detachment; and it was with some difficulty we obtained it, as he appeared apprehensive of the camp being left without a sufficient guard.

For this purpose we lost no time in marching to get in the rear of the enemy, intending to make a circuit of some miles to accomplish it undiscovered, and therefore we had to pass a ravine, in the rear of our own camp, upon the left.

We ordered a serjeant and two men to pass this hollow place first, and to examine it as they passed: they soon went over, and beckoned to us that all was safe; when Major Lewis advancing boldly forward was shot dead by five Indians, who lay there in ambush to prevent our sending any detachments that way, and suffered the first party to pass unmolested, judging rightly that they would be of inferior consequence and estimation to those that followed after. But we instantly fell upon them and pursued them so closely, that not a man of them escaped to alarm the enemy, which would have frustrated the whole design. After leaving a corporal and some men with Major Lewis's body, I marched on with all

all expedition, and gained the ravine without noiſe or being diſcovered, from whence I immediately commenced a ſudden and very heavy fire upon the enemy's left flank and rear, who were all open and quite expoſed to this attack.

Their loſs was conſiderable, and they inſtantly gave way, but with a good countenance, firing as they retreated from tree to tree, and not without carrying off all their wounded, and a great part of their dead alſo.

Had it been poſſible to have made our troops charge them at the inſtant of their breaking, the rout would have been general and complete; but without a much greater ſhare of diſcipline it is impoſſible to make them leave off that habit of buſh-fighting, or keeping themſelves covered by trees; for without that, I am convinced that by the charge of the bayonet half the number of Britiſh troops would have routed them in an inſtant, and killed three times the number that was done in this action during the greater part of the whole day.

The Indians alſo not only effected their retreat with their wounded, &c. but alſo croſſed the Ohio again upon their rafts that night, about eight miles from the field of action, by which they were effectually ſecured from any future attacks from us.

In this engagement the number of killed and wounded on each ſide was nearly as follows, viz. forty-ſix of our troops killed, and about eighty or eighty-five wounded; and of the Indians there might be thirty or upwards killed, and at leaſt as many or more wounded; however the real number of the wounded of the enemy could never be properly aſcertained.

The

The principal officer among the ſlain on our ſide, beſides Lieutenant Colonels Fleming and Morrow, Captains M'Clanahan, Blueford, Charles Cameron, and Wilſon, as well as three or four others who died of their wounds, was Major Charles Lewis, a ſenſible, worthy, and enterpriſing man, and a brave gallant officer. His loſs was deſervedly, and moſt truly lamented; for he was extremely popular and much eſteemed.

Numbers of ſtratagems were made uſe of in the action of this day, peculiar to this mode of fighting. But in theſe the whites ſhewed more dexterity and ſkill than the Indians, which is indeed very unuſual.

I ſhall relate only one of theſe ſtratagems, as thereby an idea may be formed of the others, and of the nature of them.

A white man, who had taken ſhelter behind a log to cover him from the fire of the Indians, perceiving an Indian watching for an opportunity to fire at him, raiſed his hat on a ſtick a little above the log behind which he lay for cover; the Indian, taking it for his head, and imagining that he was looking up, fired, and ſent a ball through the hat; the white man, to ſupport the deception, pretended to be wounded, and began to kick and ſtruggle. Upon this the Indian jumped from behind his tree to give him the *coup de grace* with his tomahawk, which is their mode of exultation and triumph; but as ſoon as he approached within a few ſteps of him, the white man raiſed up his firelock, took aim and killed him, making the Indian act the part of a dying man in reality, which he himſelf had only done in appearance.

It

It was not this action with Colonel Lewis that completely humbled the Indians. It was upon their return to their towns to find the Earl of Dunmore with an army in the heart of their country; who had laid their towns in ashes, and destroyed all their provisions.

It was that induced them to sue for peace in the most submissive and supplicating terms to his Lordship, whom they found as generous a conqueror, as they had experienced him a resolute, enterprising and formidable enemy.

After this his Lordship gained such an influence and ascendancy over them that he may be said to have conquered their hearts, as well as to have subdued their country.

As this war with the Indians had never met with my private approbation, it being solely from motives of curiosity and by accident that I happened to be present and engaged in it, having accompanied Captain Lewis without any such expectation, or the least idea of such an event, and the conduct of the Indians in this action had not only increased my respect and good opinion which was always very favourable towards them, but it actually made me admire and venerate them, I concluded in my own mind to leave the camp, and return with all possible expedition, as soon as there was any prospect of doing so in safety.

However by some unaccountable precaution Colonel Lewis took it in his head to be all at once extremely vigilant lest we should be attacked by the enemy in our camp, of which he had actually become extremely apprehensive; and with these ideas in his mind, which he had

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in ſome meaſure communicated to many more, they were not a little alarmed, ſome days after the engagement, by a great noiſe of hallooing and whooping like Indians approaching the camp.

But all their fears and uneaſineſs were diſpelled when the perſon who made this mighty clamour came nearer and arrived in the camp, as he proved to be one Girthy, a meſſenger from Lord Dunmore to Colonel Lewis, who firſt confirmed the report of the retreat and diſmay of the Indians.

By his arrival and intelligence we were fully ſatisfied that the whole country ſouth-eaſtward of us was clear of the enemy, and in perfect ſecurity, quietneſs, and peace.

CHAP.

CHAP. LX.

Return to Colonel Lewis's. Fredericksburg. Dumfries. Colchester. Iron Works. Occuaquan River. General Washington. Piscattawa. Port Tobacco. A most elegant Situation and Seat belonging to a Roman Catholic Priest. Establishments of the Jesuits in Maryland. Their Harams of beautiful Slaves. A profligate Priest. Estimation of landed Property. St. Mary's. Annapolis. Baltimore. Its flourishing Condition. Number of Inhabitants in Maryland.

MY reflections on the unfortunate situation of the poor Indians, and the death of my intimate and much respected friend Major Lewis, had cast such a damp on my spirits, that I could not enjoy any satisfaction in that place; and as my own private affairs likewise called me home, I made the best of my way up the Great Kanhawah for the Green Briar settlement, being furnished with the most favourable and flattering letters for Captain John Lewis, which in reality was only paying a compliment to his company, whose good behaviour on the day of action had certainly been distinguished, but from the very short time I was with them could reflect little or no credit or honour on me.

When I arrived at Colonel Lewis's, I found his son still extremely indisposed, and in such a state of imbecility and disease that I advised him to endeavour to go to the warm springs in Augusta county for the restoration and benefit of his health; which he readily consented to do.

Having

Having remained only one night here I puſhed forward to Stanton, and from thence made the beſt of my way to Frederickſburg, returning the ſame way that I went out.

At Fredrickſburg happening in company with an acquaintance that propoſed to travel round by Dumfries and Colcheſter in Virginia, and Piſcattawa and Port Tobacco in Maryland, I agreed to accompany him.

After croſſing the Rappahannock at Falmouth, Potomack Creek, and Acquia Creek, both of which fall into the river Potomack, we arrived at Dumfries, a little town ſituated on a pretty water-courſe named Quantico Creek.

Here we met with excellent accommodations at an inn, one of the beſt perhaps in America, kept by a Mr. ——, a Scots-man, where we dined, and afterwards travelled as far as another little town named Colcheſter, upon the river Ocquaquan, which alſo, as well as Quantico Creek, falls into the Potomack.

If the accommodations were good at Dumfries, they were proportionably bad at Colcheſter at a houſe kept by one Coates, whom we found to be equally diſagreeable with the entertainment we met with.

Colcheſter, although it be larger than Dumfries, has not half as much trade, and is an ill-built naſty little town, ſituated on the north ſide of the river Ocquaquan, within three miles of the Potomack, of which the eminences above it command a very fine view.

There are ſome iron-works, furnaces, and forges, worked by cuts from the Ocquaquan, juſt above Colcheſter, on the ſouth ſide of the river, carried on by a very ingenious perſon named

named Ballantine, which are of great public utility.

The trade of Dumfries and Colcheſter conſiſts chiefly of tobacco and wheat; and there is a very fine back country to ſupport it, and a conſiderable number of ſhips were loaded here annually.

The face of all that part of Virginia, named the Northern Neck, which is between the rivers Rappahannock and Potomack, is quite different from the reſt of that country which is generally level being almoſt a dead flat from the ocean to the mountains; but the Northern Neck on the contrary is extremely broken and hilly, the land too is generally ſtiff, but very rich, ſtrong, and fertile and the ſituations and perſpectives are delightful and in the higheſt degree elegant, grand, and commanding.

The rich variety of land and water, hills and dales, woods and fields, that are to be ſeen from every eminence bordering on the Potomack, is beyond deſcription beautiful, and is not to be paralleled perhaps in the world.

We left Colcheſter in the forenoon, and went to General Waſhington's at Mount Vernon, on the banks of the Potomack, where we dined, and afterwards croſſed the river about a mile below his houſe, to Maryland; and reached Piſcattaway, a ſmall town ſituated upon a creek of the ſame name, to ſupper.

Piſcattaway is low and unhealthy, but has a tolerable ſhare of trade, which conſiſts of tobacco entirely.

On the day following I returned home to my own houſe, having dined at another ſmall town named Port Tobacco, ſixteen miles from Piſcattaway,

cattaway, which is built upon a creek of the ſame name, that falls into the Potomack, as well as Piſcattaway Creek.

Port Tobacco is not larger than Piſcattaway, neither of them containing more than forty or fifty houſes; but it carries on a much more conſiderable trade, which conſiſts of ſome wheat, but chiefly tobacco.

Near the town of Port Tobacco, upon a commanding eminence overlooking the Potomack, is a ſeat belonging to the late ſociety of the Jeſuits, in occupation of a Roman Catholic prieſt named Hunter, in a ſituation the moſt majeſtic, grand, and elegant in the whole world. The houſe itſelf is exceedingly handſome, executed in fine taſte, and of a very beautiful model; but imagination cannot form the idea of a perſpective more noble, rich, and delightful, than this charming villa in reality enjoys.

And as the beſt deſcription I could give of it would come ſo far ſhort, as even to diſgrace the place itſelf, I ſhall not hazard the attempt.

I accordingly terminated this journey, after travelling at leaſt nine hundred and fifty miles, and returned to my own houſe, quite overcome with wearineſs and fatigue.

The province of Maryland, which was firſt granted as an aſylum for Roman Catholics, ſtill contains a great majority of them, although the church of England is the eſtabliſhed church, to which they pay an equal proportion as the proteſtants. There are in all probability three Roman Catholics for one Proteſtant throughout this province; and in the counties of St. Mary's, Charles, Calvert, and Prince George's, there

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are at leaſt ſix parts out of ſeven of the inhabitants that profeſs that religion.

Previous to the diſſolution of the ſociety the Jeſuits had a powerful eſtabliſhment in Maryland, and were poſſeſſed of an immenſe property in that province, conſiſting chiefly of land and ſlaves.

Three of their principal ſeats or eſtabliſhments are in Charles's and St. Mary's counties; one already mentioned juſt by Port Tobacco, the moſt beautiful place and moſt elegant ſituation in the world, in the poſſeſſion of the reverend father Hunter, who was the principal or head of the ſociety in this province; the next is at the mouth of Briton's Bay, on the river Potomack, poſſeſſed by father Lewis; and the third is at the mouth of St. Mary's River, on the Potomack alſo, in the occupation of father Aſhby; both the laſt named places are in St. Mary's county.

Beſides theſe there are ſeveral other very conſiderable eſtabliſhments belonging to the Jeſuits, in this province, where no perſon reſides but the prieſts and their attendants. However at each of theſe places they ſeem to have a haram of female ſlaves, who are now become white by their mixture.

There are at this time numbers of beautiful girls, many of them as fair as any living, who are abſolutely ſlaves in every ſenſe to theſe prieſts, and whoſe poſterity muſt remain in the ſame degrading unfortunate ſituation.

Since the diſſolution of the ſociety of Jeſuits thoſe that were there at that time remain in the undiſturbed poſſeſſion of all their immenſe property.

Maryland

Maryland is divided nearly into two equal parts by the upper half of the vaſt bay of Cheſapeak, which comes up almoſt through the centre of this province.

This prodigious body of water and the multitude of large and fine rivers that empty themſelves into it on each ſide, all of which are navigable, ſome even to the extent of two hundred miles, render theſe two provinces of Virginia and Maryland extremely valuable, commodious, and delightful, by the amazing benefit and public advantages of water-carriage and communication throughout the whole.

In Maryland there are ſixteen counties, an equal number of which are on each ſide of the bay of Cheſapeak; theſe two parts or diviſions of the province being kept carefully ballanced, as a check one upon the other, that all the advantages of trade, legiſlature, &c. may be juſtly divided. By way of diſtinction one ſide of the Cheſapeak is called ſimply the Eaſtern Shore, and the other the Weſtern Shore; of which the laſt however is conſiderably the beſt inhabited, the moſt beautiful, fertile, and polite.

By far the greateſt number of Roman Catholics are on the Weſtern Shore; and, what is very ſurpriſing, it was alſo the moſt violently rebellious and diſaffected.

The principal Roman Catholic families in this province are generally better deſcended than is common to America, where they are moſt frequently aſhamed to trace their anceſtors a ſingle generation back; but the chief of the families in this province, at leaſt thoſe of the Roman Catholic religion, came over with the firſt lord Baltimore, and were originally from good and reſpectable families in England.

About

About the period of the diſſolution of the ſociety of Jeſuits, there happened a great confuſion amongſt them, as well as among all the Roman Catholics in the province, occaſioned by a profligate prieſt of that order, who, after playing a number of tricks with many of the female part of of his flock, thought proper to lay aſide his habit and his vows, and enter into matrimony with a rich young Roman Catholic widow lady of weak intellects, along with whom he lives to this day, in open defiance of the Pope and his bulls, yet ſtill profeſſing the ſame religion. This I mention as an extraordinary occurrence, ſo rarely to be met with, that a ſimilar inſtance I do not imagine can be produced.

Landed property, by being more divided in Maryland than in Virginia, is thereby enhanced in value, and ſells at a much higher price, frequently for no leſs than three or four times as much, eſpecially on the Weſtern Shore, where the ſoil is alſo far ſuperior to that on the other ſide of the bay.

On the Eaſtern Shore the land in general is neither good, nor valuable; being very ſandy, light, and poor, excepting near the head of the Cheſapeak, where it becomes more ſtiff, and fit for the culture of wheat.

The town of St. Mary's, upon St. Mary's River, in the ſame county, once the capital of the province, is now no more, and exiſts only in name. Its great inconvenience, being ſituated in a peninſula, in an extreme corner of the province, was the reaſon of its fall, and of the ſeat of government being removed to Annapolis, an hundred miles diſtant, more in the centre

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of the colony, delightfully ſituated on the river Severn, and in full view of the Cheſapeak.

Annapolis is a beautiful town ſomething larger than Williamſburg, and the ſtreets are remarkable for their ſingular and whimſical manner of being laid out from the province-houſe in directions like rays from a centre.

The ſoil in and round Annapolis is ſandy, which renders it as agreeable in the winter as it is unpleaſant in the ſummer, although it contains a number of exceeding good buildings.

There is alſo a courſe or public race ground in the vicinity of this town, on which capital races are performed twice a year; this being the central ſpot whereon the great contentions between the ſouthern and northern horſes are decided, in which however thoſe from the ſouth have evinced an undoubted ſuperiority.

But even Annapolis will not continue much longer as the capital of Maryland. The ſeat of government muſt ſoon be removed to Baltimore, a large flouriſhing, and very fine town, lately erected, thirty miles farther back in the country than Annapolis; ſituated upon Patapſco River about fifteen miles from Cheſapeak Bay, with an excellent harbour and commodious wharfs.

This town, built on a ſpot which but thirty-ſix years ago was covered with woods, contains already more houſes than every other town in the province together, and between twelve and fifteen thouſand inhabitants.

It carries on a very great trade, which is increaſing in a ſurpriſing degree, chiefly in wheat, flour, &c. &c. But as every thing has undergone

gone a total alteration by the rebellion, Baltimore muſt alſo be a very great ſufferer thereby.

The number of inhabitants in Maryland were computed by the Congreſs at three hundred and twenty thouſand, which I alſo think exaggerated in the ſame manner as in the other provinces; for I am well aſſured that two hundred and ſeventy-five thouſand comprize all the ſouls in the province; of which more than half, perhaps two-thirds are Negroes. And the whites include a great proportion of Iriſh and Germans, eſpecially in the back counties.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXI.

The Rebellion breaking out. Harraſſments on account of Loyalty. Political Opinions, Sentiments, and Impartiality of the Author. The Manner of forming the firſt Congreſs's Committees, &c. and the Perſons who compoſed them. Againſt the private Inclinations of a great Majority of the People. Politic Stroke or Meaſure. Severe Perſecutions and extreme Hardſhips. Alexandria.

AFTER my return from this very fatiguing and diſagreeable expedition to the back country, although I had ſo much need of reſt and tranquillity, yet a very ſmall ſhare fell to my lot; for the flames of diſcord and rebellion, beginning to burſt forth with violence all over the continent, likewiſe in my vicinity and through ſeveral counties around the inhabitants being extremely diſaffected to Britiſh government, and my opinions and inclinations in favour thereof being decided and public, I was harraſſed and perſecuted beyond meaſure, by the demagogues of this formidable faction.

As the natural generoſity of ſentiment of the bulk of the people of Great Britain, and eſpecially of thoſe of an high rank, has prevented them from being able to form any idea of the illiberality of conduct of the Americans, and the barbarous treatment practiſed by them upon thoſe unhappy perſons who have had the misfortune of falling into their hands, eſpecially if ever they were active againſt them, I ſhall here give a brief

brief narration of what has fallen under my own obſervations, as well as what I have experienced myſelf; at the ſame time, utterly diſclaiming every idea of perſonality, prejudice, and every vindictive ſentiment.

And to evince my candour on this ſubject, it is neceſſary for me firſt to declare, that I was exceedingly attached to the country and the people, very many of whom, I loved, eſteemed, and reſpected; I was habituated to, and fond of their ſociety, cuſtoms, and manner of life; I delighted in their agriculture; in ſhort, I was equally intereſted in every event that could befall them, with any of them all, as I intended to end my days in that country, wherein every individual was happy and free, under the mild government of Great Britain; where plenty and contentment reigned, and not a beggar was to be ſeen, before the flames of ſedition and revolt conſumed this fair and noble fabric.

My political opinions alſo were decidedly in favour of civil liberty, and I equally deteſted deſpotiſm and republican government. A mixed monarchy, ſuch as that of Great Britain, was the government I approved of, and the object of my choice.

So that as my ſentiments have been liberal, and my conduct actuated by principle alone, ſo ſhall my relation of the events, that occurred in conſequence thereof, be candid and impartial.

In the county wherein I reſided, at the firſt meeting of the people to conſider about electing committees, conventions, congreſs, &c. I oppoſed the meaſure with all my power, perſuaſion, and influence; and then three-fourths of thoſe preſent came over to my ſide on dividing. But

notwithſtanding this, the other remaining fourth part, the abettors and promoters of ſedition, appointed themſelves committee-men, &c. and had the effrontery to publiſh in the news-papers that they were unanimouſly choſen by the people.

This was the caſe in general, as well as there; and it was in this manner, and out of ſuch as theſe, that the firſt committees, conventions, and congreſs were choſen and compoſed.

From the firſt I conceived this was a deep laid ſcheme, that was greatly promoted by a number of favourable fortuitous events accidentally intervening, which as they occurred no foreſight nor precaution could divert; for it is an undoubted truth, that not one tenth part of the people at large at firſt countenanced or approved thoſe violent and ſeditious meaſures that were afterwards adopted.

After the firſt general congreſs broke up, the people beginning to murmur, he boldeſt, deepeſt, and moſt politic ſtroke of all was now formed and executed. In ſhort, it was that on which the baſis of all their future authority, power, and ſucceſs, was eſtabliſhed.

A meeting of each county on buſineſs of great importance was deſired, on an appointed day, in anonymous hand-bills diſtributed and paſted up at public places. A very few people only met, and they were chiefly ſtrollers and idle perſons. However, the former ſelf-created committee now re-elected themſelves, and added eighty or ninety others, indeed every perſon of any influence in each county, though abſent, and although many of them had diſapproved of their

their measures. Of this number any five were impowered to act.

This measure of increasing the number of the committee-men rivetted their influence, and effectually silenced those who opposed their designs.

Frequent meetings were afterwards held, wherein the former designers always carried their own schemes, and the last nominal committe-men were satisfied with the name and shadow of power, for in fact they had none of the substance.

Although I had always openly and publicly disapproved, and opposed the whole of their proceedings, yet now they nominated me also as one of their committee; proposed me to command three troops of light horse, and the chairman waited on me with the offer of their commission, (and with four papers for me to subscribe, viz. one for the support of the seditious inhabitants of Boston in New England, one for raising a magazine, one for the payment of the members of the Congress, and the fourth was the association of revolt;) intending thereby to corrupt my principles, as they did those of many others, and expecting that this ostentatious though really lawless power, would be so alluring as to fascinate me out of my loyalty. But in this however they were mistaken, for I positively refused the whole, giving him for answer, that I would sooner suffer death than be guilty of what they requested and have such a stain of what I considered as ignominy upon me.

Being then cited before them to answer for my conduct, I plainly and candidly informed them, "That I had no share in electing them; that "they neither represented me nor my principles;

" that I beheld them as an arbitrary, insolent, " self-created, petty tribunal, to which I paid " no obedience: but that I was always ready to " answer in a legal and constitutional way to " any accusation against me."

This incensed them highly; and for self-defence, as well as in support of his Majesty's government, I then drew up a loyal association, and exerted my utmost influence to promote it.

In two days I obtained four hundred subscribers. We were to meet on the ensuing Saturday, in order to concert some effectual measures to support constitutional government, and avert the threatened oppression of the congress and committees.

However this attempt was rather too late; the mal-contents had gathered too much strength; and in the mean time having got intimation of it, they in one night and day had every person privately seized on, and compelled them to renounce his Majesty and his government even on oath; two Scotsmen, who refused, they tarred and feathered, and they sent a party after me: but I, being apprized of it, and being well provided with arms and ammunition at my own house, and resolute servants, resolved to defend myself. Apprehensive of too warm a reception they returned without me.

After this, however, I was in continual dangers and alarms, and could not sleep in my own house in safety. Several times parties of forty armed men, with two rounds each of ammunition, were ordered to take me, and if I resisted to fire upon me; but one of their officers always privately gave me timely notice of it, so that I escaped, and generally went over Potamack in my boat to Virginia on such occasions.

Happening

Happening there once before ſome violent rebels to ſay, "that inſtead of blaming the conduct of his excellency the Governor of Dunmore, then Governor of Virginia, I thought he had always acted in a manner that did him infinite honour, and wiſhed that all the reſt of his Majeſty's Governors had performed their duty with equal ſpirit and reſolution:" a Captain Weedon, from Frederickſburg, the innkeeper formerly mentioned, (now an American General) came down to the river ſide with his company, conſiſting of ſixty rifle-men, to ſeize upon me when I came over, but a lady, reſiding on the banks, ſent her maid to the ſhore unſuſpected to warn me of the danger, who called to me when within about three hundred yards informing me of their intentions and deſiring me to return immediately. As ſoon as they obſerved the boat ſtand off again from the ſhore, Weedon and his banditti ran down to the river ſide ordering me to land immediately or they would fire upon me. Accordingly, on my refuſal and diſregarding their threats, they fired about an hundred ſhot with their rifles at me, and having arms in the boat I returned their fire eight or ten times; but the diſtance was ſuch there was no great danger on either ſide.

That ſame day on my return home I was informed that three different parties intended on the morning following to beſet my houſe on all ſides, in order to prevent my eſcaping. About ſun-ſet alſo I diſcovered a boat with eight or nine armed men coming over to my houſe; upon which I immediately went down to the river ſide with my fuſée, and ordered them not to land there, threatening that I would certainly fire up-

on them if they attempted it. They perſiſting in it, I fired upon them three times from under cover of the root of a ſycamore tree blown up, which they alſo returned; but it prevented their landing at that place, and they ſtood up the river to Cedar Point, about two miles above. This boat contained ſome of thoſe who were to aſſiſt in ſurrounding me next morning.

I was now beſet by them on all ſides; but effected my eſcape in the night, by riding along in the river Potomack, upon the flats which extend in width near half a mile and ſeveral in length, with the water up to the ſkirts of the ſaddle, and ſo far in the river that I could not be diſcovered from the ſhore on that dark night; thus I proceeded for near ten miles up the river, and thereby avoided the centinels and guards they had placed at every avenue leading to my houſe.

In the morning they were in ſuch rage at miſſing me, when they imagined they had me quite ſecure, that they deſtroyed above an hundred barrels of Indian corn, ſhot two of my horſes in the plough, and beat all my people. It was the more inconvenient and diſtreſſing upon me at this time, as I had ſold five hundred buſhels of corn to a Bermudian, whoſe veſſel was then at my landing receiving it, and I was forced, having no overſeer that year, to leave him and my ſervants and negroes to do with it juſt as they pleaſed.

I had at this time a very large crop of wheat, having ſowed about three hundred and fifty acres, beſides an exceeding fine crop of Indian corn and tobacco, all of which were neglected, by my being continually harraſſed and purſued by theſe ruffians;

ruffians; for I was determined not to be taken.

At this period alſo I was declared inimical to the Americans, and on that account was reſtricted from bringing any action, or even recovering the debts for which I had before this obtained judgments in court, and was obliged inſtantly to repay the money I had formerly received in part of payment of the debts that were due to me; as any perſons that pleaſed might bring actions againſt me, but I was prevented at the ſame time from commencing ſuits againſt any one.

That morning I reached Piſcattaway, thirty miles diſtant, to breakfaſt, where an Iriſhman named Johnſon, a deſerter from the fourteenth regiment of foot, was exerciſing a company of gentlemen rebels all in ſcarlet. Here likewiſe I ſoon found myſelf in danger, and on that account went over to Alexandria.

This fine town, formerly named Belhaven, is ſituated on the Virginia ſide of the Potomack, upon the banks of this noble river which are here remarkably high and commanding.

Alexandria is delightfully ſituated in a moſt healthy and beautiful ſpot, is now the firſt, and before the deſtruction of Norfolk was the third, perhaps the ſecond, town in Virginia for magnitude, opulence, trade, and elegance.

There are ſome good buildings in Alexandria, and excellent warehouſes and wharfs. Beſides a great many ſhips for Europe, the Weſt Indies, and other places, ſeveral veſſels ſailed from this port annually for New Orleans with flour, which, as well as wheat, is the ſtaple of this part of the country.

Ships as well as ſmaller veſſels are built here; the town is in a moſt flouriſhing ſtate, and it is in reality a very pleaſant and agreeable place.

It may contain perhaps four or five thouſand inhabitants; but, like every other town in America, this has alſo decreaſed ſince the general revolt.

The ſite of Alexandria is particularly ſtrong and commanding, the better calculated for a place of arms than any other town in Virginia or Maryland; being capable of receiving additional ſtrength from every exertion of judicious labour and expence; the ground on which the town is built being conſiderably higher than any in the adjacent country; the ſoil ſtiff, heavy, and well adapted for fortifications; the water of the river, which is here near two miles wide, being quite freſh and ſweet, as it continues for ſeventy miles below; and the whole country around producing the fineſt wheat, flour, and proviſions. The river is perfectly commanded by the banks, which are exceedingly high; and the water is ſo deep that the largeſt ſhip of the line could lay her broadſide to the wharfs.

This ſituation is the more uncommon, as almoſt all the towns in America are built on low grounds, at the falls of the rivers, for the convenience of water-carriage alone, without regard to ſtrength, beauty, or healthfulneſs, all of which this fine town can boaſt of in an eminent degree.

About eight miles above Alexandria, oppoſite to George Town, are very valuable mills; and there are likewiſe ſeveral others very excellent in this vicinity, both above and below.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXII.

Alexandria. The Place where General Washington first began to countenance the general Revolt of the Colonies. A Loyalist tarred and feathered. Patuxent River. Benedict Town. Lower Marlborough. Upper Marlborough. Queen Anne. London Town. Annapolis. Severn River. A Hurricane. Baltimore. Patapsco River. Elk Ridge. Examined by the Committee. My Servant tarred, feathered, and killed. Obliged to fly for Safety. Travel an hundred and ten miles on Foot in two Days. Nottingham. Exhausted and overcome with Fatigue. In extreme Pain. Taken very ill. Dangerous Situations. Betrayed by a false Friend. Taken by the Rebels. Rescued. Most perilous Escape.

IT was at Alexandria where George Washington first stept forth as the public patron and leader of sedition and revolt, having subscribed fifty pounds to these purposes when others subscribed only five, and having accepted the command of the first company of armed associators against British government, which he had clothed in his old uniform of the Virginia regiment last war, viz. blue and buff; a dress he has continued to wear until this time; and being likewise the first encourager of desertion from the British army, by publicly abetting and advising it, and promoting a large subscription to this Johnson already mentioned, a deserter from the fourteenth regiment, for the purpose of teaching the inhabitants tactics and military exercises.

Although there were a number of gentlemen of loyal principles in this place with whom I was very well acquainted, yet I could not aſſociate with them, nor could we even converſe together only with the utmoſt caution and privacy, leſt I ſhould be diſcovered, and we all ſhould fall victims to the lawleſs intemperance and barbarity of an ignorant and frantic mob.

I ſoon found that all my precautions to remain here undiſcovered were fruitleſs, and the firſt intimation I had of this was from Colonel George Maſon while at dinner, who deſired me to take particular notice of an unfortunate loyaliſt, tarred and feathered by the mob, who were that inſtant carrying him along as a public ſpectacle, emphatically obſerving *that it nearly concerned me.*

In the evening the deſerter Johnſon (one of the moſt complete ſcoundrels in exiſtence, and now a colonel in the American army,) endeavoured to cauſe me likewiſe to be tarred and feathered, as an enemy to American licentiouſneſs, but the gentlemen of moderation prevented it, by protecting me for that time, and turned the fellow out of the houſe with diſgrace.

I had come up here for quietneſs, hopeful to be able to remain unnoticed until the ſtorm at home ſhould ſubſide, but finding myſelf equally in danger every where I gave up the idea of meeting with an aſylum in any place, and ſet out again privately for my own houſe that ſame night, reſolved not to ſtir from thence, but to defend myſelf in it to the laſt extremity.

I fortunately paſſed ſafe through Piſcattaway, and Port Tobacco; at both which places parties were waiting to ſeize on me as I returned, for they

they had notice from Alexandria of my being there.

I had ſcarcely arrived at home when two gentlemen, perſonally my warm and ſincere friends, came to me in private, and earneſtly entreated that I would affect to comply with the meaſures of the Congreſs, and pretend to join them if it was only in appearance; telling me it was nothing ſhort of madneſs for me alone to reſiſt, and the conſequence would be that I muſt be ſacrificed, and my whole property ſeized or deſtroyed. My anſwer was, 'That as I had never countenanced them in the ſmalleſt degree, I would not now have the infamy upon me upon any account of joining them, although in appearance only; that ever ſince the time I found myſelf overpowered I had no longer made any oppoſition to them; that I concerned not with them, and never viſited them nor their meetings; but as I did not acknowledge their authority, I was determined not to put myſelf in their power, which I would ſooner part with life than ſubmit to: and that this was my final reſolution, from which I would never depart.'

Upon this they left me in ſorrow, ſaying that poſſibly they might never ſee me more.

Then they went to the preſident, who was once my intimate friend, and informed him of my determination. He, being very ſenſible that I would abide by my declarations to thoſe gentlemen, connived at affording me ſome little reſpite; and for two months I was not ſo openly harraſſed; but however they endeavoured to diſtreſs and ſurpriſe me unprepared.

For which purpoſe, during harveſt, they frequently inveigled away my negroes, in order to obtain

obtain a favourable opportunity of taking me when I was ſearching after them. But in this ſtratagem they alſo failed.

Indeed my preſervation and ſafety during all this time, was chiefly owing to an opinion they had formed of my being poſſeſſed of a deſperate courage and reſolution.

I had purchaſed a large quantity of Indian corn, wheat, and flour, for which I had alſo paid half the purchaſe money, and freighted a brigantine, when the proprietor diſpoſed of her to a purchaſer: I then found it impracticable to freight any other veſſel before the time that exportation was prohibited, ſo that I loſt the whole of this by its remaining on my hands.

That year I made on my plantation between five and ſix thouſand buſhels of wheat, which coſt me above three hundred pounds in gold to cut down and ſecure, of this I was able to get only one thouſand buſhels ready for market by September, on the tenth day of which exportation terminated, and ſhipped them on board two ſmall veſſels bound for Baltimore; one of theſe veſſels was loſt in a ſtorm, and the other five hundred buſhels I was compelled to diſpoſe of for only one ſhilling and ſix pence per buſhel.

I went up to Baltimore myſelf, by the way of a ſmall town named Benedict, upon the ſouth ſide of the river Patuxent.

This is a very pretty river about two miles wide, and the town is in a beautiful ſituation, containing about ſixty houſes.

There is no great trade at Benedict, and what there is conſiſts chiefly of tobacco, of what is the moſt valuable of any, and is produced upon light and ſandy, but rich ſoil, being peculiar to the

the planters on the Patuxent, whoſe land is generally of that quality.

The inhabitants of this town are very violent in their diſaffected principles, and I certainly ſhould not have approached it, (for it was conſiderably out of my way), had it not been to recover a ſervant who had been enticed away from me to that place, where I found him, being juſt twenty-four miles from my houſe.

After ordering my ſervant home, I proceeded up the ſide of the Patuxent for Lower Marlborough, a little town, on the north ſide of the river, not ſo large as Benedict, and ſcarcely worth notice.

Here I joined company with a gentleman named Buchannan, a conſiderable merchant and ſhipbuilder at Baltimore, and travelled with him through Pigpoint, and another town named Upper Marlborough, ſomething larger than the former, upon this river alſo, but of very little conſequence; from thence we paſſed through a ſtill more inſignificant town, named Queen Anne; and croſſing South River at another little town called New London, we arrived at night at Annapolis, from which the laſt place is only four miles diſtant.

The whole day was ſtormy, wet, and diſagreeable, but at night there was the moſt dreadful hurricane ever remembered to have happened in this part of America.

The ſhocking accidents, and ſtrange effects, occaſioned by this moſt violent guſt, or tornado, it would be endleſs to enumerate; I ſhall therefore only obſerve, that the province houſe of Maryland, an elegant public building, juſt finiſhed and covered with copper, had the whole roof

roof laid bare, the ſheets of copper being rolled up like ſcrolls of parchment.

We left Annapolis early in the morning, and found the roads rendered almoſt impaſſable by this dreadful ſtorm.

We dined at a pretty town named Elkridge, ſituated at the falls of the ſouthern branch of the Patapſco River, which we croſſed, and arrived at Baltimore.

This route is by no means the neareſt, or direct road to Baltimore; but Mr. Buchannan having buſineſs at theſe places, I went with him for the ſake of company.

The town of Baltimore is built on a declivity in the form of a creſcent, on the north ſide of a large baſon, or rather bay, the water whereof is not deep enough for veſſels of any conſiderable burden.

The harbour of Baltimore is named Fell's Point, about two miles from the town itſelf, although the houſes are now continued almoſt all the way. Here is water ſufficient for the largeſt ſhips to lay their broadſides to the wharfs.

Almoſt immediately after my arrival in Baltimore I had the misfortune to be ſeized with a violent dyſentery and was extremely ill.

But in the mean time the committee deputed three of their members, named Tolly, Colquhoon, and Levi a Jew, to inſpect my papers, letters, and baggage; and it required no ſmall ſhare of addreſs and precaution to get clear.

Next day the mob tarred and feathered my ſervant, and treated him with ſuch barbarity that his death enſued in conſequence.

I was incenſed in the higheſt degree at this ſhocking inſtance of brutality, and having applied

plied to a very worthy reſpectable magiſtrate, viz. Doctor Stephenſon, ſenior, I obtained warrants, and by a bold vigorous exertion of reſolution ſeized on the ringleaders and ſecurely lodged them in the common priſon.

However they were releaſed by the mob on the day following, and I was obliged to ſecrete myſelf notwithſtanding my debilitated and wretched ſtate of health; for I only held the dyſentery under by taking great quantities of laudanum every half hour, which alone enabled me to keep out of bed.

In this dangerous and moſt diſtreſſed condition, a worthy friend, Jonathan Plowman, Eſq. privately afforded me every comfort and aſſiſtance, although at the greateſt riſque to himſelf had it been diſcovered.

To enable me to eſcape with ſafety I concluded to leave my horſes at the inn, and engaged a veſſel to carry me round by water to my own houſe.

After I went on board, and the veſſel was about two miles out from the ſhore, ſhe was quite becalmed and could not proceed; in this ſtate we remained for twenty-four hours; the whole time in ſight of the town, every boat from which alarmed me extremely, apprehenſive that they might have received information of my being in the veſſel, and were ſending to ſeize upon me.

This ſtate of anxious ſuſpenſe and alarm I reſolved to abandon, and after paying the maſter of the veſſel his full freight, ordered him to land me early next morning juſt above the town; and I ſet out on foot for my own houſe, in as painful and weak a ſtate as ever a man was that attempted

tempted to walk any diſtance, being reduced almoſt to the verge of death by this violent dyſentery which continually afflicted me.

The diſtance I had to march was an hundred and ten miles, and the weather was extremely hot and ſultry; but what will not a man undertake when life is in danger?

I ſet out with a ſpirit and reſolution very uncommon to a perſon in my enfeebled and ſickly condition; however it was this ſpirit and reſolution alone that ſupported me, my ſtrength of body being quite exhauſted.

In this journey I ſelected the moſt private and retired ways, croſſing the Patuxent juſt by Nottingham, a ſmall and very pleaſant town upon the ſouth ſide of the Patuxent river, eight or ten miles below Pig Point.

Here I reſted for half an hour, and refreſhed myſelf with a little wine and water, having taken no kind of nouriſhment before all the day; at night I ſlept at a houſe in the foreſt of Patuxent, having travelled this day fifty-five miles; but I was ſo extremely fatigued and overcome with this extraordinary exertion, that the violent pains through all my limbs, occaſioned thereby, prevented me from getting but a very ſmall ſhare of repoſe.

I aroſe in the morning ſtiff, ſore, and very little refreſhed, and purſued my journey; dined at Allan's Freſh, and reached my own houſe in the afternoon; having travelled this day alſo fifty-five miles.

But I was taken ſo very ill, in an hour or two after my arrival, and was ſeized with ſuch extreme pains in all my limbs, that the excruciating torture occaſioned by this too arduous effort, could

could not be endured : and I was obliged to be put in a hot bath, and all my limbs conſtantly rubbed, that night, for three hours, before I obtained the leaſt reſt, or relaxation from pain.

My health and conſtitution received a ſhock from this which it never afterwards recovered; and on the ſecond day after my return, I was again ſeized with the moſt extreme pains, throughout my whole body, which nothing could remove or allay, but copious bleeding and large doſes of laudanum. This I was conſtantly obliged to make uſe of, and repeat every two or three days, as the pains returned as often.

Having concluded to leave this part of America in October, and to remove to the Miſſiſſippi by land, on account of theſe troubles; and this being reported to the Council of Safety, they, apprehenſive that I would prompt the Indian nations, through which I muſt neceſſarily paſs, to make war upon and do the Congreſs every ill office, ſent orders for me not to leave the province.

Soon after my return from Baltimore, one of my people, ſome of whom I was under the neceſſity of keeping as ſentries day and night about a mile from my houſe, came running with information, that forty armed men were advancing to ſeize upon me, I deſired him to go back, and acquaint them from me, that I would not ſuffer them to come near the houſe, for if they attempted it I would certainly fire upon them, let the conſequence be what it would. Their principal officer then ſent me word that he and ſix men only would come up; requeſting me not to fire,

as

as he was far from wiſhing to hurt me, being only in execution of his orders.

I had three firelocks, three pair of piſtols, all loaded, plenty of cartridges on the table, and two truſty ſervants. I ſtood in the door, and when they came within ſixty yards called to them to ſtop, declaring if they advanced ten ſteps farther I would certainly fire upon them; the officer upon this ordered his men to halt, and as I conſented for him to come up himſelf, he advanced alone.

He alſo was formerly a particular friend of mine, and now made uſe of every argument and perſuaſion to induce me to join them, informing me, that it was judged extremely improper to ſuffer ſuch a public example of attachment to Great Britain as myſelf to be at large, either in the county or province; and that his orders were to bring me by force, before the Council of Safety. But finding me fully determined to loſe my life rather than be taken, he ſaid that my blood ſhould not lie upon his head, ſome other perſon muſt execute their orders, and went away.

After this, being obliged to go into St. Mary's County, I fell in a ſnare laid for me, by ſhewing my arms to a perſon in whom I confided as a friend. Immediately he and twelve others fell upon me naked and defenceleſs, run me through the thigh with a ſword, made me priſoner, and carried me thirty-ſix miles.

As we went along I met a Scots gentleman, Mr. M'Pherſon, and ſeveral other loyaliſts, by whoſe aſſiſtance I recovered my liberty, my horſe, and my arms; and parting from them returned home

home next night with inconceivable pain and difficulty.

On my way, being alone, two violent rebels laid in ambuſh to ſeize on me, thinking me quite diſabled and my piſtols empty, but finding that I had got them loaded again, they rode off with precipitation.

Before I was taken I had fought againſt them all until I was dangerouſly wounded, and ſcarcely able to ſtand with loſs of blood; and in returning was under the neceſſity of paſſing through two places where two Captains and their companies laid in wait for me, but by travelling in a very dark ſtormy night, through bye-ways, among ſeveral dangerous precipices, and deep ravines, in ſome of which my horſe fell with me ſeveral times ſix or eight feet perpendicular, with many wounds and contuſions I eſcaped theſe ambuſcades, and reached home, but in a condition ſo wretched and miſerable, that I had almoſt died, not being able to leave my bed, and being in a continued agony of excruciating pain, during ſeveral weeks afterwards.

In that time a party came to take me away, but I was ſo very ill that they could not remove me, being covered with wounds, beſides that through my thigh which was extremely dangerous, unable to ſtir, and being alſo delirious with a raging fever, which then proved my preſervation.

Before I was half recovered from this illneſs, and before my wound was near healed, a gentleman came to inform me, that a captain with forty men intended to carry me to the Council of Safety as ſoon as I was able to be removed; and that their determination was to make

make uſe of force againſt me if they found it neceſſary.

On the night following, they carried away two of my ſervants for drummers, and hearing of them I went fifty miles after them in great pain, found them in a muſter-field, and was bringing them home, when ten rebels, ruſhing ſuddenly upon me, deprived me of my arms, both ſervants, beſides the ſervant that attended me, and two very fine Engliſh mares; and detained me until midnight, when I effected my eſcape, and with difficulty reached home.

Some nights afterwards they inveigled three more of my negroes from me; purſuing them next day, I found them, and was bringing them back, when I diſcovered thirty of the rebels after me, ſo was obliged to abandon my negroes to preſerve my own liberty.

In ſhort I found that if I ſtaid among them much longer, it would be impoſſible to avoid falling into their hands.

CHAP

CHAP. LXIII.

Set out for the Miſſiſſippi. In a miſerable State of Health. Port Royal. Character of the Inhabitants. Anecdote of an unfortunate young Gentleman. Arrive at Blandford. Royal Standard erected at Norfolk. Repair to it. Seized upon at Surry Court Houſe. Eſcape. Sleepy Hole on Nanſemond River. Arrive at Portſmouth. Wait on the Earl of Dunmore. Informed againſt as a Spy. Leave Portſmouth. Suffolk. Overtake my People, &c. at Maherren. Taken Priſoner. Eſcape. Set out again for Norfolk. Country alarmed. Take Refuge in the Great Dismal *Swamp. A deſcription of it. Dreadful Conflagration. Aſtoniſhing Difficulties. Arrive again at Portſmouth. Suſpected again for a Spy. Servant carried on Board the Governor's Ship by a Guard. Servant examined and acquitted.*

I Had made every preparation for my departure to the Miſſiſſippi, notwithſtanding their edict againſt it, had written, and ſent all my letters privately to Great Britain, deſiring my friends and correſpondents there to tranſmit their letters no more by the packet nor through thoſe revolted colonies leſt they ſhould fall into the hands of the Rebels, but to ſend them immediately to the Miſſiſſippi or Penſacola. And on the night of the fifteenth of October, in the year ſeventeen hundred and ſeventy-five, being informed that a great force was coming next morning determined to ſeize upon me, I privately croſſed the Potomack

tomack in boats that I had ſecretly engaged for that purpoſe for ſome time before.

I carried along with me five ſervants well armed, beſides a very conſiderable property; and notwithſtanding this hazardous enterprize was ſtill very ſick, weak and emaciated, being by no means perfectly recovered of my wounds.

I travelled over the Northern Neck of Virginia, croſſed the Rappahannock at Port Royal, where I arrived to breakfaſt, and having great need of reſt and refreſhment ſtaid to dine there alſo.

Port Royal is a very pretty little town, on the ſouth ſide of the Rappahannock which is here about ſeven hundred yards wide. It may contain eighty or perhaps an hundred houſes, all of which are very pleaſantly ſituated; but it has no great ſhare of trade, and the inhabitants are remarkable for ſurlineſs and diſagreement among themſelves, which gave occaſion to a merry facetious wag to make the following obſervation, 'That he verily believed, that if only one perſon lived in Port Royal, he would quarrel with himſelf.

A remarkable and affecting event happened in this town, ſingular indeed in America. A young gentleman became ſo loſt in love with a very young lady, that underſtanding ſhe was willing to marry another perſon in compliance with the commands of her mother, although he was ſenſible the young lady gave the preference to himſelf, he with the greateſt deliberation ſecrecy and reſolution ſwallowed ſuch a quantity of opium that it ended his days; and on the ſame night that he took the fatal drug he died in great agonies.

I travelled

I travelled about fifteen miles beyond Port Royal that evening, and next day was taken ſo extremely ill as to be unable to proceed. But my uſual remedy, of being copiouſly blooded and taking large doſes of laudanum, enabled me again to purſue my journey, after being detained here for a whole day.

My ſtate of health was ſo bad that this was my painful and unfortunate condition, thus repeated every other day, until I arrived at Blandford, upon the river Appamattox in Virginia.

At this time the Royal Standard being erected at Norfolk by the Earl of Dunmore, his Majeſty's Governor, I thought it my duty to repair thither, which was about an hundred and thirty or forty miles diſtant, not only to make a tender of my weak ſervices, but having heard his Lordſhip's life frequently threatened as I came along, and ſeveral plans laid to murder him privately, I was really concerned for his ſafety, and apprehenſive that he might fall a victim by theſe ruffiansand aſſaſſins, and for that reaſon went likewiſe to acquaint him of the danger.

Accordingly I ſent my ſervants, horſes, and baggage on before towards Carolina, and ſet out alone for Norfolk. It happened, that on that very day a rebel edict was publiſhed, ordering every perſon, travelling towards Norfolk, to be ſtopped, and carried to the rebel commander Patrick Henry, at Williamſburg.

At Surrey court-houſe I was ſeized on by a very dirty crew, who propoſed carrying me priſoner to Williamſburg; but plying them well with punch I ſuddenly ſtepped aſide, mounted my horſe, and left them in full ſpeed, whilſt eight or ten of them were firing after me.

Twelve

Twelve or fifteen miles from thence I fell in company with a rebel pay-maſter and a commiſſary, named Wells Cooper who lived in Suffolk, and Solomon Shepherd, whoſe houſe is beyond Sleepy Hole on Nanſemond River. Theſe gentlemen I completely deceived, and in company with them paſſed ſafe, though not unmoleſted, through that infernal place Smithfield, as well as ſeveral places beſides, where the inhabitants were very violent, otherwiſe I could not poſſibly have got down; for every half dozen fellows we met, wanted me to give an account of myſelf, and propoſed to carry me to Henry at Williamſburg; but theſe gentlemen always prevented them.

Mr. Shepherd, who was really very kind to me, accompanied me fartheſt on my journey, his houſe being within twelve or fifteen miles of Portſmouth.

As ſoon as I arrived at Norfolk, or rather Portſmouth, for it was there I ſtaid, I waited upon his Excellency the Earl of Dunmore, on board an armed ſhip named the William, where I likewiſe converſed for a conſiderable time with Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly. I then acquainted his Lordſhip with my deſigns, and he obſerved that I would certainly find it impoſſible to paſs along through the country, in its preſent diſtracted ſtate, to the Miſſiſſippi. I alſo mentioned to his Lordſhip my apprehenſions of his perſonal danger, but he ſeemed to pay little regard to his own ſafety.

I did not ſtay above an hour on board the William, and informed no perſon at all any thing, but his Lordſhip himſelf, on account of the hazard and danger I had to encounter in returning

ing through the country in order to overtake my ſervants and proceed on my journey.

My ſilence was ſuſpected, and my being a perfect ſtranger induced two meddling worthleſs fellows to go on board the Governor's ſhip in the night to inform him that I was certainly a ſpy from the rebels, to which piece of intelligence his Lordſhip however paid no regard.

In the morning I waited again on his Excellency to take my leave, and ſet out from Portſmouth with a heavy dejection on my ſpirits at the diſagreeable reflection of the danger of returning and perhaps falling into the power of a ſet of the veryeſt wretches, and moſt infamous ruffians in exiſtence. I was alſo in pain for his Lordſhip's perſonal ſafety, on account of his eaſineſs of acceſs.

That night I lodged at Suffolk, and on the day following two men were ſent from thence ſeven miles after me to bring me back to the Committee there: but by preſenting a piſtol at theſe fellows I quickly ſent them away prodigiouſly frightened.

With great difficulty I proceeded as far as Edward's Tavern, on Maherren River, in the county of Brunſwick, where I overtook my ſervants, &c. but was ſuddenly ſurpriſed and ſeized on by a ſtrong party of rebels, in conſequence of one of my ſervants having given information that I had been at Norfolk with the Earl of Dunmore.

Llewellin, Hopwell, and Stanton, the ruffians who commanded, treated me with illiberal inſult and barbarity, plundering me of my horſes, ſlaves, baggage, arms, and about three hundred

and fifty piſtoles in gold, beſides a large quantity of ſilver in dollars.

Moſt fortunately for me two Scots gentlemen coming that way called, and in the night, by their very kind aſſiſtance, I effected my eſcape from this party, with a ſervant, three of my horſes, and a conſiderable value beſides.

Theſe two worthy friends met me that ſame night eighteen miles from thence in North Carolina, and directed me the way to proceed to Norfolk.

Searching amongſt the baggage which my ſervant had recovered I found arms and ammunition, which I now conſidered as one of the moſt eſtimable acquiſitions.

My former journey and intentions being now entirely fruſtrated, I ſet out for Norfolk again next morning, with a very heavy and dejected heart, and in a condition ſo ſick and feeble, and in ſo bad a ſtate of health with the excruciating pains to which I was ſo ſubject, as to be obliged to be blooded and lay by every ſecond day for ſome time.

For ſecreſy, and to avoid purſuit, I travelled on the North Carolina ſide of the boundary line, the inhabitants on that ſide not being very violent, and with the greateſt difficulty and fatigue proceeded on until I arrived within fifty or ſixty miles of Norfolk.

Being quite exhauſted with hunger and hardſhips, I was thereby conſtrained to call at the houſe of one Copland a Quaker for ſome refreſhment, and to prevent ſuſpicion I cauſed my ſervant to ſit down at table along with me.

I did not tarry here an hour; and when I had travelled about nine miles farther my horſes tired, and

and I remained that night and the day following at the houſe of a warm planter named John Harris, a very old man and a good friend of government.

On the ſecond night I was alarmed by a Negro, and ſoon afterwards by a white man a relation of Mr. Harris, who informed me that friend Copland's wife head had imagined that I was Governor Martin, of North Carolina, travelling in diſguiſe to Lord Dunmore at Norfolk: that this booby had raiſed the alarm throughout the country, and that in conſequence of it three companies of militia were in purſuit of me; that they had proceeded in ſearch of me as far as Suffolk, and were now returning beating up the whole country as they paſſed; and that underſtanding I was well armed, they intended to ſhoot me down on ſight.

Finding by means of ſeveral other friends to government that this intelligence was well founded, I gave the Negro two dollars to carry me immediately into a private place in the *Great Diſmal* Swamp, where I lay hid during the day, and travelled every night.

This *Great Diſmal* is the principal of all thoſe dreadful places, called ſwamps, only to be met with in America, for there is nothing of the kind to be found in all Europe, Aſia, or Africa.

It is in form of a vaſt oval, thirty miles in breadth, and fifty in length, with a lake, nearly in the center, ſeven miles diameter, abounding with fiſh.

From this lake there is no outlet or running water to any other place; nor can there be ſaid to be any deſcent throughout all this immenſe ſwamp, excepting a little without its outer cir-

cumference; all within being in a manner entirely covered with water out of which innumerable quantities of large ſtraight and lofty cypreſs-trees are growing in almoſt impenetrable cloſeneſs to each other throughout the whole extent; betwixt theſe trees infinite numbers of that ſtrange production cypreſs knees ariſe above the water from three to fifteen inches, almoſt as cloſe as they can ſtand together.

Throughout the whole of this truly *diſmal* place, there is ſcarcely the leaſt appearance of any kind of ſoil; for even where there is no water nothing can be diſcovered but cypreſs knees, cloſely intermixed with a matted body of ſtrong fibrous roots vines and vegetative productions every where, in a dark and dreary ſhade altogether impervious to the rays of the ſun. The trees, &c. growing ſo cloſe thick and lofty, that one perſon will loſe another therein, at ten yards diſtance; and afterwards if they wander a few hundred yards aſunder, no noiſe, clamour, or hallooing, from either of them, can be heard by the other; for the woods are ſo cloſe as to prevent the vibration of the air for any diſtance through them; even the report of fire-arms is ſmothered.

The only way of hearing any ſound, for the leaſt diſtance, is by laying one's ear cloſe to the ground, by which means one can hear ſix times as far as any other way.

There is a kind of ridges, running throughout this ſwamp, from fifty yards to a quarter of a mile and upwards over, and one, two, four, and ſometimes ſix miles aſunder.

Theſe ridges are without water, although no earth or ſoil can be ſeen, but all between them

is

is covered with water from two to five and ſix feet deep.

On theſe ridges are aſtoniſhing numbers of bears, wolves, panthers, wild cats, oppoſſums, racoons, ſnakes, ſome deer, and every kind of wild beaſts; between them are vaſt numbers of otters, muſk rats, beavers, and all kinds of amphibious animals.

In very dry ſummers ſome of theſe ridges have been accidentally ſet on fire, and cauſed moſt dreadful conflagrations, the flames conſuming all before them, burning into the earth for a vaſt depth, and over-ſpreading the whole country around with thick ſmoke.

Theſe places are ſoon afterwards filled with water, and become ſmall lakes.

There was one fire in the *Great Diſmal* particularly horrid and tremendous. It happened on an extraordinary dry ſummer, and burnt with irreſiſtible fury for many weeks, ſpreading terror and deſtruction around.

The wild beaſts were ſo frightened, that prodigious numbers of them of all kinds forſook the ſwamp, over-running the plantations for many miles diſtance, and the whole country was perpetually enveloped in thick ſmoke, during many weeks, for ninety miles around.

The effects of this horrible conflagration formed a lake, a mile and a half in breadth, and above three miles long, from four to eight, ten, and even twelve feet deep.

It is imagined that the great lake in the center was formed by ſome former dreadful conflagration far beyond human memory; as burnt wood is frequently found in the bottom of it, even near

the middle, and in the deepeſt places throughout.

This ſwamp belongs to a company of proprietors, who have begun to render it of advantage and profit to them. They commenced with getting lumber, cypreſs ſhingles, and boards, and with incredible labour they have now formed ſeveral plantations therein, which produce immenſe crops of Indian corn.

They have alſo cut a navigable canal, nine miles in length, from the great lake, for the conveyance of their lumber and produce, as near to the edge of the great ſwamp as poſſible, and they have formed a cauſeway of timber, as a road through it, from the end of the canal.

The land all around it is ſomewhat higher than it is within it, and is flat, ſandy, wet, and barren.

This is a ſafe harbour and place of perfect ſecurity for all kinds of wild beaſts, as well as ſtray horſes, cattle, hogs, and runaway Negroes many of whom live here to be old without the leaſt danger of being diſcovered.

This place is alſo called the *Great Deſert*, on account of its being deſtitute of human inhabitants, and being the general aſylum for every thing that flies from mankind and ſociety.

On the ſecond night after the above mentioned alarm I had three rebel guards to paſs, who were poſted, to prevent any communication with Norfolk, at paſſes through which every perſon that went towards that place were obliged to go.

The firſt, at Mead's Mill near Suffolk, I avoided, by ſwimming the creek below.

The ſecond, juſt by Nanſemond Church, I paſſed without the leaſt noiſe, and fortunately unnoticed,

unnoticed, although I heard the centinels challenge in half a minute after I had paſſed them.

And the third guard, at Smith's Tavern, I alſo got paſt by moving on ſlowly in perfect ſilence; and afterwards by puſhing briſkly forward arrived at Portſmouth before day-break; with a heart and ſpirits now light and chearful although almoſt exhauſted with hunger and fatigue. Happy however, beyond expreſſion, to be out of the power of the rebel banditti, although at the expence of the greateſt part of all I had in the world.

On the day following, being exceſſively fatigued, I did not immediately wait upon his Excellency the Earl of Dunmore, intending to perform that duty as ſoon as I was a little refreſhed.

But that ſame afternoon Captain Squire, of his Majeſty's ſloop Otter, threatened to carry me as a priſoner on board his ſhip, as a ſpy from the rebels, partly upon the former ridiculous ſuſpicions againſt me when I was here before, but chiefly becauſe I did not wait on him immediately upon my arrival. And at the ſame time a guard was ſent by the governor to bring me and my ſervant before him, on another information of the ſame kind againſt me, by a certain fellow from mere pique and malevolence, becauſe I would not ſuffer the aſſuming, ignorant wretch to brow-beat, bully, and inſult me.

I was at this time along with Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, who lodged in the ſame houſe, and with whom I had paſſed the greateſt part of the day, when the guard came to the door, of whoſe orders or intentions I had not the moſt

diſtant idea, nor did I know then of any of theſe ſuſpicions or informations againſt me.

The guard indeed did not meddle with me, (in conſequence I preſume of ſecret orders from his Excellency, who never gave any credit to theſe inſinuations, but acted thus at the preſſing inſtance of the forward aſſuming fellow whom I have juſt mentioned), but they carried my ſervant on board before his lordſhip for examination, when this vile caitiff being preſent endeavoured to intimidate him, in order to induce him to bring ſome accuſation againſt me; but his Excellency himſelf ſoon put a ſtop to ſuch ſcandalous attempts. However, a gentleman, who had been alſo along with Colonel Connolly, waited upon his lordſhip with a letter from the Colonel, aſſuring his Excellency that the information againſt me was totally falſe and groundleſs, which the examination of my ſervant likewiſe evinced in the fulleſt and moſt ſatisfactory manner.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIV.

Embarked on an Expedition to the Back Country. Proceed up the Potomack. Paſs through Maryland. Frederick Town, a Deſcription of it. Funks Town. Taken Priſoners. Hagar's Town. Great Valley. Connigocheague. Extremely abuſed and maltreated. Robbed of our money. Nature of the Expedition. A curious Manner of ſecreting Papers. Confined and in great Danger at Frederick Town. Eſcape. Fall through the Ice into the Potomack. Aſtoniſhing Danger and Fatigue. Fly into the Mountains. Deep Snow. Break the Ice and wade deep Rivers. Wounded and Lame. Robbed by a man that I had placed confidence in. Continue to puſh forward for Detroit and Illonois. Fort Cumberland. Romantic Situation. Croſs the Allegany Mountains. Retaken by mere Accident on the Yohiogeny River.

AFTER theſe groundleſs and moſt ridiculous ſuſpicions were happily cleared up, the whole intention and ſubſtance of a ſecret expedition to theback country, under the command of Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, then appointed Commandant of the Queen's royal regiment of Rangers, was diſcloſed to me, and I was earneſtly ſolicited by the Colonel to accompany him, along with another gentleman named Cameron; to this I moſt chearfully conſented, and in the above regiment we all received our commiſſions.

On the day following I received an order to take any veſſel in the harbour, and alſo ſuch of the pilots on board his Majeſty's ſloop the Otter as I judged proper, for the uſe of this expedition.

This circumſtance was no ſmall ſatisfaction to me, as I thereby convinced Captain Squire of my being no ſpy, as he had alledged; and on going on board his ſhip made choice of two of his beſt pilots.

When we departed from Norfolk on this expedition, I was obliged to leave behind me my ſervant and all the property I had been able to bring down there. My ſervant and horſes, which were valuable, were to be ſent to the plantation of Mr. Atchiſon, at Lord Dunmore's requeſt; and the reſt of my property I left in the houſe of a Mr. Pierce at Portſmouth, but I have never ſince that time heard the leaſt account of any thing belonging to me.

We embarked on board a flat-bottomed decked ſchooner, which I had engaged for that purpoſe, with our horſes, and only one ſervant who belonged to the Colonel.

Our ſmall party conſiſted of Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly, Mr. Cameron, myſelf, and the ſervant; and we intended to proceed in this veſſel up the Cheſapeak, into Potomack River, and land if poſſible near to my houſe or Port Tobacco Creek, and afterwards to paſs through the county on horſeback until we arrived at Detroit in Canada.

It was propoſed that I ſhould paſs through Pittſburg, with diſpatches to Mr. M'Kie the Indian ſuperintendant, and to ſome other friends of government, then proceed down the river Ohio to the mouth of the Siotto, and from thence up that river, through the Shawneſe, Delawares, and Wiandotts, and down Sanduſki River to Sanduſki Old Fort, from whence I was to croſs lake Erie, by the Rattle Snake Iſlands,

Iſlands, to Detroit. While the other two gentlemen were to croſs the Allegany River at the Kittanning, and proceed by the neareſt and moſt direct route to Detroit. Here a very conſiderable force was to be collected from all the neareſt poſts in Canada, and tranſported, early in the ſpring, acroſs the lake Erie to Preſquiſle, where I was to be employed during the winter with a detachment of two hundred men in covering and conducting the building batteaux, and collecting proviſions, in order to proceed by the way of French Creek, Venango, and the Allegany River, to Pittſburg, which we were to ſeize on and eſtabliſh as head-quarters, until the diſaffected intereſt was entirely cruſhed, and the whole ſtrength of the country collected and formed into regular diſciplined regiments.

After leaving a ſufficient garriſon at Pittſburg, we were to advance acroſs the Allegany Mountains with our whole force upon the back of Virginia; and after eſtabliſhing a ſtrong poſt at Fort Cumberland, it was propoſed to fall down the river Potomack, and ſeize on Alexandria, where the Earl of Dunmore was to meet us with the fleet, and all the force of the lower part of the province. Alexandria was to be ſtrongly fortified, as a place of arms, and the communication between the ſouthern and northern parts of the continent thereby cut off.

If a misfortune, of ſuch magnitude, ſhould have happened, as to oblige us to give up this enterpriſe at any particular ſtage thereof, our retreat was then ſecured by theſe poſts which we occupied in our rear; and if it ſhould have failed in the firſt part of the expedition, by our finding

finding it impracticable to seize upon Pittsburg, we were to fall down the Ohio in our batteaux to the Mississippi; where we were to be joined by the garrison, artillery, and stores from Fort Gage of Kiskuskias at the Illonois; and then to proceed down to the mouth of the river Mississippi in West Florida; where we were to embark in transports, and come round to Norfolk in Virginia, there to join the Earl of Dunmore.

For the execution of this well formed, judicious, and vast undertaking, Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly was furnished with the proper and necessary powers, both from General Gage the Commander in Chief, and from the Earl of Dunmore, and with ample instructions for his future conduct, as well as commissions for the formation of a complete regiment at Detroit, or Pittsburg; all of which, containing no less than eighteen sheets of paper, we carried along with us in a secret manner invented by and executed under the inspection of his lordship.

All these papers were concealed in the mail pillion-sticks on which the servant carried his portmanteau, they being made hollow, for that purpose, and covered with tin plates, and then canvass glued thereon as usual; this was so dextrously and completely executed that it could not be discovered on the strictest examination.

We sailed up the Potomack, almost as far as Lower Cedar Point, when a most violent gale came on from the north-west, which obliged us to stand down the river again, and run up into

into St. Mary's River in Maryland, where we landed, on the twelfth of November, without occaſioning the leaſt ſuſpicion, having ſent off the veſſel again immediately after we had taken out our horſes.

Here I undertook to be the conductor through the country for above two hundred miles; and it was not without the utmoſt addreſs, precaution, difficulty and danger that I carried them, and paſſed myſelf quite ſafe and unſuſpected, through all that extent of thick ſettled country, wherein my perſon and principles were ſo well known, and without being once diſcovered myſelf.

However we were frequently very much alarmed, particularly at Frederick Town, where we arrived on the evening of a general muſter, or field-day of the armed aſſociators. At the inn where we put up, each of us calling for ſomething different from the others, cauſed an enquiry, and of courſe a ſuſpicion concerning us, and it was propoſed to bring us before the committee in the morning for examination. This plan we accidentally diſconcerted by ſetting out from Frederick Town in the morning at daybreak; and as the committee had all got intoxicated over night, it was too late next day, before they aroſe, and recollected any circumſtances concerning us, to ſend in purſuit after us.

We paſſed through a village named Middle Town, about eight miles beyond Frederick; and in the South Mountain, four miles farther, we took the wrong road, which led us to another village named Funk's Town, after Jacob Funk a German, the proprietor.

We dined in this place, and paſſed on through a conſiderable town called Hagar's Town, named

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ſo alſo after the proprietor, a German; a few miles beyond which we unfortunately met a little man, a hatter, who knew Colonel Connolly at Pittſburg, where he had lived, and now recollected him again, and ſpoke to him.

This accident giving me great uneaſineſs, I mentioned to the Colonel my apprehenſions of our being diſcovered thereby, and propoſed for us to change our route. But he being of a different opinion, and thinking there was no danger, it gave me inexpreſſible concern, and had it not been for two reaſons which prevented me, I would then have left him and provided for my own ſafety.

The firſt was, that being under his command I could not diſobey; but of that I was ſenſible he had too much generoſity to take advantage, therefore it was not this that deterred me.

The ſecond reaſon was, the former ridiculous ſuſpicions againſt me at Norfolk; and it was on that account I determined to ſtand or fall with him, and to wait the event with patience, ſhould captivity, or even death be the conſequence.

We lodged at one Doctor Snayvelley's, a German, about five or ſix miles beyond Hagar's Town, upon the banks of the river Connegocheague, and accordingly as I had dreaded, about midnight we were all ſeized on in our beds and made priſoners by a company of riflemen from Hagar's Town, who were ordered out for that purpoſe in conſequence of the little hatter's information.

This company conſiſted of thirty-ſix men excluſive of officers, who ruſhing ſuddenly into our room, with their rifles cocked and preſented

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cloſe to our heads while in bed, obliged us to ſurrender. This happened in the night of the nineteenth of November, one thouſand ſeven hundred and ſeventy-five.

This party conſiſting ſolely of rude unfeeling German ruffians, fit for aſſaſſinations, murder, and death, treated us with great ignominy and inſult; and without the leaſt provocation abuſed us perpetually with every opprobious epithet language can afford.

We were then carried to Hagar's Town, and examined ſeparately before the committee there, after being ſearched for papers; our ſaddles and baggage alſo underwent a ſtrict ſcrutiny and inſpection, but nothing was diſcovered againſt us. This committee was ignorant, rude, abuſive, and illiberal, and ordered us to be carried to Frederick Town, under a ſtrong guard, for further examination.

The ſame ruffians continued to guard us, and were perpetually threatening to take our lives. As we rode along (for as yet they had not deprived us of our own horſes) ſome of them in the rear every now and then fired off a rifle directed very near us, as I could hear the ball whiſtle paſt within a few feet of us, every time they fired.

At Frederick town I was told that *I* need not expect to get clear, for *I* was a noted friend to Britain, and they had long endeavoured to get *me* in their power.

Here we were ſtripped and ſearched again, and examined ſeparately before the committee, where one of the moſt illiberal, inveterate and violent rebels named Samuel Chaſe, (ſon to a reſpectable and very worthy clergyman of this province)

vince) a lawyer, and a member of the Congreſs preſided.

At this place we were not a little alarmed leſt they ſhould diſcover our inſtructions, papers, &c. as they examined every thing ſo ſtrictly as to take our ſaddles to pieces, and take out the ſtuffing, and even rip open the ſoals of our boots, in vain, for the object of their ſearch was not found, although they ſo frequently handled what contained it.

However, by ſome neglect of Colonel Connolly's ſervant, an old torn piece of paper was found in his portmanteau, which diſcovered part of our deſign; and then Colonel Connolly, to prevent our falling immediate ſacrifices to a frantic mob, acknowledged our commiſſions.

Upon this we were actually robbed of our money, by Samuel Chaſe and the committee, the chairman of which was named John Hanſon, and has ſince then become a Preſident of the American Congreſs, who left us only one guinea each; and we were put under a ſtrong guard in the houſe of one Charles Beatty, in a cloſe room three ſtories high, with the windows ſcrewed faſt down, reſtricted from pen, ink, and paper, and no perſon allowed to ſpeak to us.

Thus were we confined, for ſeven weeks, all in one room, under a ſtrong guard, ſuffering every ſpecies of inſult daily, and in danger and dread of being murdered every night.

The ſervant however, who was faithful to his truſt, being allowed to go at large from the firſt of our confinement, took care to deſtroy the mail pillion-ſticks, containing the papers, commiſſions, and inſtructions, which we dreaded ſo much being diſcovered, as ſoon as he could effect it

it with ſafety, which put an end to our anxiety and alarms on that account.

Frederick Town is a fine large town, built of brick and ſtone, there being very few timber houſes in it, it is far inland, being at leaſt fifty miles from George Town, which is the neareſt navigation or port, and is not ſituated upon any river or water courſe; the neareſt to it being Monoccacy Creek, which is four miles diſtant, and Potomack River, which is about eight miles from it.

The land around Frederick Town is heavy, ſtrong, and rich, well calculated for wheat, with which it abounds; this being as plentiful a country as any in the world.

The face of the country here ſwells into beautiful hills and dales, and twelve miles beyond the town it ariſes into mountains, named the South Mountain. The ſoil is generally of a deep ruſty brown colour, and ſtrongly impregnated with iron.

Frederick Town is not ſo large as Alexandria, but more conſiderable than Williamſburg, or Annapolis, and contains upwards of two thouſand inhabitants, who abound in proviſions, and all the neceſſaries of life.

Beyond the mountain Elizabeth Town, or Hagar's Town as it is generally called, aſtoniſhes you by its magnitude, beauty, and good buildings, chiefly compoſed of ſtone and lime.

It is ſituated on a plain, in the great valley between the two mighty ridges named the South Mountain, or Blue Ridge, and the North Mountain, or Great Ridge.

This valley is about thirty miles wide, extending many hundred miles in length, and contains a body

a body of the richeſt land in the world. It abounds with the moſt clear and pellucid water-courſes, and all the ſtones and rocks are lime-ſtone.

Both Frederick Town and Hagar's Town, as well as the greateſt part of the back country of Maryland and Pennſylvania, are inhabited chiefly by Germans and Iriſh, but the firſt are the moſt numerous; and carry on almoſt every kind of manufacture, as well as a conſiderable ſhare of trade. Neither of them ſtands upon any large water-courſe; but there is abundance of mills, forges, furnaces, and iron works, all around them, throughout the adjacent country.

Many of the Iriſh here can ſcarcely ſpeak in Engliſh; and thouſands of the Germans underſtand no language but High Dutch; however they are all very laborious, and extremely induſtrious, having improved this part of the country beyond conception; but they have no idea of ſocial life, and are more like brutes than men. They came to Frederick Town from all quarters to behold us, as if we had been ſome ſtrange ſight, and were always very liberal of inſults and abuſe without the leaſt cauſe or provocation.

On the thirtieth of December, orders were brought from the Congreſs, that we ſhould be ſent to them at Philadelphia; and they were preparing to ſet out with us next day.

It had been preconcerted, that if we ſhould be taken priſoners by the way upon this expedition, we ſhould attempt, either by eſcape or any other method, to inform the garriſon of Detroit of an expedition the rebels intended againſt them from

from Pittſburg; and alſo to bring the garriſon of Fort Gage at Kiſkuſkias Illonois, with the artillery, ſtores, &c. down the Miſſiſſippi to the Gulf of Mexico, and from thence by tranſports round to join the Earl of Dunmore and the troops under his command at Norfolk.

For this reaſon I had been long ſcheming an eſcape, and had engaged one of the inhabitants named Barclay to accompany me on this hazardous undertaking; and he was to be liberally rewarded for his ſervices.

As we were ordered to ſet out for Philadelphia next morning, there was now no time to be loſt in making this attempt.

For this purpoſe I watched all this night for the moment that the two centinels might fall aſleep on their poſts at our door, which they had alſo locked on the outſide; at length the much wiſhed-for period arrived; and at that inſtant unſcrewing the lock, I made my eſcape, with letters, diſpatches, and every neceſſary order, but by an accident was obliged to leave almoſt all my cloaths behind. After ſome little difficulty I found Barclay's houſe, and he getting out of bed, we immediately ſet out on our journey.

There was a deep encruſted ſnow, and moſt dreadful roads, ſo that travelling was beyond expreſſion fatiguing, eſpecially as I went on foot, leaving my horſe behind to prevent any ſuſpicion of my route; as no one could imagine that a journey, over the Allegany mountains, to Detroit, and to the Miſſiſſippi, would be attempted during that rigorous ſeaſon of the year, by any perſon alone, as they muſt conceive me to be, and on foot.

In

In order to paſs on with more privacy, I endeavoured to croſs the Potomack, and travel up on the Virginia ſide of that river, becauſe ſo many people from Maryland had ſeen me while in confinement at Frederick Town and Hagar's Town; but in attempting to go over on the ice, I broke in, and it was with the utmoſt difficulty my life was ſaved. Barclay would not venture.

It was ſnowing and freezing at the ſame time, and I had ſeven miles over the mountains to go before I came to a houſe to thaw, dry, and warm myſelf. At laſt when I reached a houſe, there was no fire, the people could not ſpeak nor underſtand a ſingle word of Engliſh, and it was impoſſible for me to ſtay; ſo I travelled on in that wet and frozen condition all day, and at night lay before the fire, at the houſe of a poor ignorant Dutchman; which I alſo did the night before, upon a bear's ſkin, at the houſe of a very violent Scotſman, a ſurveyor, on the ſide of the Potomack, after having undergone more than can be expreſſed in travelling round a town named Sharpſburg, the ſnow being deep and encruſted over, but not ſtrong enough to ſupport my weight, ſo that at every ſtep I ſunk down almoſt knee-deep, and cut my legs alſo by every movement in walking.

On the firſt day of January, 1776, at ſunriſe, I came to the mouth of a river named Cunnigocheague, where it enters the Potomac.

This river was frozen half-way over, and we were compelled to break the ice, ſtrip, and wade through, with the water up almoſt to our ſhoulders.

Hearing of a purſuit after me, we ſtruck out of the road into the North Mountain, travelled all

all day through deep fatiguing encruſted ſnow, and ſtaid during the night (for I ſlept not) under a rock in the mountain.

On the ſecond of January, we likewiſe travelled all day in the mountain, and at night ſcraped away the ſnow by the ſide of a fallen tree, made a fire, and ſlept a little.

On the third of January I directed our courſe towards the road again, being then behind the purſuit, and ſtaid all night at a miſerable hovel by the fire. Here we procured ſome coarſe food, which was extremely acceptable and delicious, having been entirely without any kind of refreſhment for the laſt two days.

At this place I heard a thouſand falſehoods told concerning me, and was obliged to join in the abuſe againſt myſelf, which was generally equally groundleſs and illiberal; ſeveral of the people here ſaid they knew me perfectly well, and attributed a multitude of ſingular actions and exploits to me that I had never before heard of; but they all united in inſiſting that we ought immediately to have been put to death when taken, to prevent eſcapes and future miſchief.

Our journey was ſomewhat retarded, and rendered extremely diſagreeable, by great numbers of large water-courſes or rivulets in our way, which we were under the neceſſity of paſſing over, all of them being partially or entirely frozen, yet ſcarcely any able to bear us, ſo that we were obliged to break the ice on each ſide, and wade through. Among the multitude of theſe, I ſtill recollect the names of the Great Khonholloway, and Little Khonholloway.

On the fourth of January, being under the neceſſity of croſſing a river that was frozen over,

over, I had three violent falls on the ice, by which I received a deep wound in one of my feet, and a very bad ſtrain in my ancle.

This rendered travelling intolerably painful and difficult; however to me there was no alternative, but death to ſtop, or life to proceed; and I continued to puſh on, although conſtantly in extreme torture, until we arrived at a planter's houſe on the road, about a mile on this ſide of a large water-courſe named May's creek; where I was compelled to ſtop, unable to proceed farther, being abſolutely exhauſted, and quite overpowered with extreme pain and fatigue.

Here Barclay privately made off and left me, after plundering me of what little cloaths I had been able to bring with me, and every valuable article I had ſecreted from the rebels, viz. ſome ſilver and ſtone buckles, gold rings, and jewels, on which I depended ſolely for ſupport during this journey; for the committee as I have obſerved before, had only left us a guinea a piece in money, of which one ſingle dollar was all I had remaining.

This fellow ſurely muſt have been influenced by the reflexion, that in my wretched condition it would be impoſſible for me to accompliſh the hazardous and extenſive journey I had undertaken; and that conſequently ſooner or later I muſt be again apprehended; for which high rewards were offered, and the greateſt exertions made by the rebels.

For he never could be tempted by the ſmall booty he obtained to be guilty of ſuch a piece of villainy, after travelling ſo far, and ſuffering ſo much as he had done, along with me.

me. This ſpoil from me however I preſume he thought proper to take to himſelf when he went off, as ſatisfaction for his trouble.

No event of my life ever ſhocked me more than the diſcovery of this wretch's treachery, when I found he was certainly gone.

A multitude of ſuſpicions crowded in my mind, and a thouſand fears alarmed me. Every moment I expected to be ſeized upon, in conſequence of information againſt me; and I diſtruſted every perſon I ſaw or met.

My mind diſtracted, my body enfeebled, emaciated and tormented with excruciating pain, in an enemy's country, deſtitute of money or reſource, and without a ſingle friend, I was in a condition truly to be commiſerated, and not to be excelled in diſtreſs.

This was a trial the moſt arduous and ſevere I ever met with; but ſtill my reſolution did not forſake me, and I determined to proceed, notwithſtanding every difficulty and danger.

I croſſed May's Creek, and Wills's Creek, by breaking the ice and wading them, paſſed by old Fort Cumberland, which is in a beautiful and romantic ſituation, on the north ſide of the Potomack, amidſt vaſt mountains and mighty torrents of water, that break through the mountains in dreadful and tremendous chaſms, appearing very diſtinctly from this place.

The largeſt of theſe breaks in the mountains are thoſe of the river Potomack and of Wills's Creek, which appear from hence ſuperior to the reſt in awful grandeur.

There

There is now only a little public houſe at Fort Cumberland, where that immenſe ridge particularly named the Allegany Mountains commences.

Here I began to aſcend the mighty Allegany, and after travelling all day in an extremity of anguiſh, pain, and anxiety, after having broken the ice and waded through a black and diſmal river named Savage River, and a number of large and dangerous water-courſes beſides, I arrived at Gregg's habitation, in the midſt of the mountain; where I remained all night amidſt the dreadful ſcreamings and howlings of multitudes of every ſpecies of wild beaſts.

Here I was compelled to break in upon my poor ſolitary dollar, for, notwithſtanding all my intended frugality, nature required ſupport, which money alone could procure.

I ſet out again next morning, and in this moſt diſtreſſing and wretched condition continued to puſh forward, until I had got over the Allegany mountains; but, notwithſtanding all my circumſpection and ſtrenuous exertions, I had the misfortune to be retaken by mere accident on the Yohiogeny River, a branch of the Ohio, on the twelfth of January, by a party of nine ruffians returning from Pittſburg, where they had been diſpatched in purſuit of me.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXV.

Cauſe of Life being preſerved. Inſtances of ſingular Mal-treatment and Barbarity. Bound with Cords. Examined before the Committee at Frederick Town. A curious Deſcription of the Committee and their Examination. Great Danger of being murdered. Confined in York Town Gaol, where a moſt worthy Loyaliſt Dr. Kerſley was then a Priſoner. His Sufferings, and tragical Fate. Croſs the Suſquehannah on the Ice. An Account of Lancaſter, York Town, and the Suſquehannah. Arrival at Philadelphia. Carried before the Congreſs. Sent to Priſon. Suffer unparalleled Barbarity. Health declining faſt, and expect to be ſacrificed. Wrote ſome Verſes upon the Wall with Charcoal.

NOTHING preſerved me from immediate death from the hands of theſe banditti, but the hopes of the reward they ſhould meet with by carrying me to the Congreſs.

However there was no reſtriction to deter them from exerciſing the moſt wanton inſult, the higheſt ignominy, and the moſt unaccountable cruelties upon me.

They ſet me upon a pack-horſe, on a wooden pack-ſaddle; they tied my arms behind me, and my legs under the horſe's belly; they took the bridle of the horſe, and faſtened a great bell around his neck; and in that condition they drove the horſe before them, with me upon his

back, along narrow ſlippery ways covered with ice, and over all the dreadful horrid precipices of the Allegany and Blue Mountains, for a diſtance little ſhort of three hundred miles.

During the firſt day and night they never halted but for neceſſary refreſhment, of which howver they afforded me no ſhare; and every night afterwards compelling me to lie upon the bare ground.

Thus travelling in this rapid manner very probably ſaved my life, as I have been informed ſince, for another banditti of thirty men from the vicinity of Pittſburg, upon an alarm that a perſon was taken on his way to raiſe the Indians againſt them, had purſued us under oath to kill me, but after following us for a day and a half in vain, deſpairing to overtake us they returned.

I was carried in this inhuman barbarous manner paſt Tumbleſton's, Grigg's, Fort Cumberland, Creſſop's or Old Town, &c. &c. and at ſeveral places it was with the utmoſt difficulty my guard could prevent the ruffian ſavage inhabitants from murdering me in cold blood: but although they preſerved my life, for the ſake of the reward they expected for apprehending me, yet they never attempted to protect me from the moſt cruel and mortifying inſults and mal-treatment at every place they halted; and I was frequently even exhibited as a public ſhow, as if of a different ſhape and appearance from other men.

During all this time I taſted nothing but water, excepting one meal of indifferent food; this alſo contributed in ſome degree to my recovery, by abating the inflammation of the wound in my foot, and the ſtrain in my ancle, both of which

which were prodigiouſly ſwelled, and ſo intolerably painful, that, beſides entirely depriving me of ſleep, I was not able to walk an hundred yards even if it had been to obtain life and liberty as a reward.

I was then delivered up again to the Committee of Hagar's Town; who, after ordering me to be ſearched four different times in one day, made uſe of every artifice of promiſes to delude, and threats to intimidate, in order to corrupt my principles, and gain me over to their cauſe; and when all would not avail they ordered me to be carried to the Congreſs at Philadelphia in irons.

A freſh guard was added to the former, conſiſting of a Major, and two Captains, the reſt being Lieutenants, Enſigns, and Serjeants, amounting to twelve in number, beſides the former nine, who would not wait for the irons to be made, but ſet out with me, bound as before, and my horſe tied alſo with two large ropes, and led by two of the guard, accompanied with fife and drum beating the rogue's march, which they ſeemed every where to be particularly fond of.

In this manner I was carried to Frederick Town, and there dragged, bound with cords, before the Committee, which conſiſted of a taylor, a leather breeches-maker, a ſhoemaker, a gingerbread-baker, a butcher, and two publicans.

The greateſt part of them being germans, I really underwent a moſt curious examination, nearly to the following effect. "*Got tamm you*" (ſays one) "*howſh darſht you make an exſhkape from diſh honorablſh committiſh?*" "*For fiucht der dyvel* (ſays another) *Howſh can you ſhtand ſho ſhtyff for King Shorſh akainſht diſh koontery?*" *Sacramenter* (roars out another) *Diſh committiſh*

will make Shorſh knoa howſh to behave himſelf." " *By Goat* (bawls the butcher) *Ich would kill all de Enkliſh tives, as ſoon as Ich would kill van ox, ar van cow.*

After they had all exhauſted themſelves by haranguing in this manner, they inſiſted that I ſhould anſwer them.

I replied, ' that I could have very little ſay to them, having no intention of employing either of them; as when I wanted cloaths I ſhould apply to another taylor; and to other perſons alſo for leather breeches, as well as for ſhoes or boots; that I never eat gingerbread; and had an averſion to butchers and publicans, whenever they ſtepped aſide from the line of their proper occupations; and, that as I conceived they had as little buſineſs with me as I with them, requeſted they would detain me no longer.'

This threw them in a moſt violent rage, and they ordered a guard of their own to take me to a dungeon.

But my former guard refuſed to deliver me up, and ſwore that they would not truſt me in their hands, leſt they ſhould permit me to eſcape again, as they had done before.

This I confeſs gave me ſome ſatisfaction, and alſo prevented me from receiving abundance of abuſe and mal-treatment for that time.

They left Frederick Town with me early next morning, and at the diſtance of fifteen miles from it we were overtaken by a Captain and fifty armed men, who had been ſent after us to take me from my guard, and carry me back to two hundred more ruffians in arms that had aſſembled and marched into Frederick Town, for the ſole and avowed purpoſe of ſeizing on and putting me

me to death immediately, in order as they alledged to save the country expence; for they all appeared to be absolutely certain, that this would be my fate after I was carried to the Congress at Philadelphia.

This unexpected circumstance occasioned a very warm contest between the two parties, and detained us at least three hours.

My guard, it is true, seemed resolute to defend me, at the expence of their blood; because by giving me up they would be deprived of their expected reward, but they must certainly have been overpowered by numbers, if it had come to action.

However I myself found means to persuade this rabble from their first intentions, which required no small share of address to accomplish, as they were actually sent by the rest on purpose for my destruction; but at length we were by this means suffered to proceed.

I was carried, in this manner, through Cressop's Town as I have observed before, as well as Hancock's Town, Hagar's Town, Middle Town, Frederick Town, Tawney Town, Peter Little's Town, M'Allaster's Town, and at last arrived at York Town, commonly called Little York, in Pennsylvania, where they lodged me that night in the common gaol, being the first prison I ever entered in my life.

Here I was confined in an apartment adjoining to that where a most meritorious and respectable loyalist was then kept prisoner.

This gentleman's name was Doctor Kearsley, of the city of Philadelphia, who, on account of his loyal principles, was torn from friends, family, and fortune, and after been long and

rigidly confined in different prisons, fell at length a sacrifice to the cruel and persecuting spirit of these iniquitous sons of barbarity.

Although I was here locked up in a strong stone prison, yet a guard consisting of the inhabitants, was placed in the gaol below, and a centinel at the door of my room.

This night being excessively cold, the ruffian who was placed at my door got intoxicated, and after putting himself in a rage, by damning and swearing, began to fire at me through the door. Upon the report of the piece the guard came up and relieved him; but the next centinel acted in the very same manner, and this being relieved the third did just so likewise; so that I never closed my eyes all that night, and was heartily glad when we left Little York next morning.

We crossed the Susquehannah a large broad and beautiful river, upon the ice about two miles above Wright's Ferry, and at night arrived at Lancaster, the largest inland town in America, containing at least ten thousand inhabitants, chiefly Germans and Irish.

However it is neither handsome nor agreeable, although very plentiful, and abounding with most excellent cyder and provisions.

York Town is much pleasanter than Lancaster, and still farther distant from navigation. It is situated on Codorus Creek, a pretty stream which falls into the Susquehannah, and contains between two and three thousand inhabitants, chiefly Irish with a few Germans intermixed.

The river Susquehannah, which falls into, and forms the head of the vast Bay of Chesapeak, is one of the largest and most beautiful rivers in America, yet perhaps one of the least useful, being

ing navigable only about ten or fifteen miles at fartheſt, from the mouth, for veſſels of any burden; above which it is only navigable for canoes, and even they meet with many interruptions.

The weſt branch of the Suſquehannah riſes near and interlocks with the waters of the Allegany, and the north branch of the Potomack.

The eaſt branch heads near the long fall and portage on the Mohawks River, a branch of the Hudſon or North River which falls into the ſea at New York.

The ſource of this branch of the Suſquehannah is in the country of the Mohawks, a conſiderable diſtance north from Cherry valley, and from thence to its mouth, at the extremity of the Cheſapeak, is not leſs than five hundred and twenty-five miles in direct lines, and about ſeven hundred miles along with its meanders.

In Lancaſter I was alſo lodged in the common priſon, with a guard at the door as at York; and with this information, to comfort me and promote my repoſe, viz. that ſome hundred barrels of gunpowder were lodged in the floor above; and yet they allowed me a fire.

Here alſo there was a loyaliſt confined, in the next room to me, named Mr. Brooks.

In this place I received no particular abuſe nor inſult, and we left it next morning on our journey to Philadelphia.

About two or three miles from Lancaſter we croſſed Coneſtoga Creek, which falls into the Suſquehannah; and on the ſecond day about noon, after croſſing the Schuylkill, we arrived in Philadelphia, after the moſt ſhocking and diſagreeable journey that I ever experienced; being

dragged all this diſtance, which is between four and five hundred miles, bound with cords, and treated in the moſt barbarous and ignominious manner, like a criminal or felon carried to execution.

At Philadelphia, the Congreſs, to expreſs their approbation of the cruelty and zeal of thoſe ruffians who retook me, gave to each of them a commiſſion in their ſervice, and fifty dollars; and to the principal perſon among them two hundred dollars, and a captain's commiſſion of rifle-men as a reward; beſides a liberal gratuity to each of the officers, who came as the additional guard from Hagar's Town.

After being interrogated by the Congreſs, I was ſent by them to the Council of Safety, (properly of deſtruction,) and from thence to the common gaol, where a very large pair of irons were brought for me; but a gentleman preſent, named Courtney, one of the American artillery officers, went out in apparent indignation, and in a ſhort time returned with an order to prevent their being put upon me.

I was then thrown into a colddamp vaulted room, or cell, in the criminal apartment for females, wherein at that time more than ſeventy were confined.

Both the iron and the wooden doors of my cell were conſtantly locked and chained; no perſon even in the priſon was allowed to ſpeak to me, nor to anſwer me if I called to them; reſtricted from pen, ink, and paper, or the ſmalleſt communication with any creature living; without a chair, table, bed, blanket, or ſtraw, and obliged to lie on the bare floor, with a log of wood under my head; in the midſt of a moſt ſevere winter, without a ſpark of fire, and the

iſicles

iſicles impending from the arched roof of thi horrid vault; and ſometimes ſuffered to remain for three days together without a drop of water, or any kind of drink; my ſituation was too diſtreſſing for human nature to endure.

In this moſt wretched and dreadful condition I remained for three weeks, extremely ſick and very lame; and without having changed my linen, or had my cloaths off, for thirty-three days.

Indeed to think on all I ſuffered, one would imagine, that human nature could hardly ſupport it. But a man, under ſome circumſtances, and at certain times, can undergo more than would at other times deſtroy him.

Every loneſome ſleepleſs night that I paſſed in this dreary manſion of wretchedneſs and miſery, my ears were perpetually harraſſed with the moſt dreadful ſounds, and horrible noiſes, proceeding from the clanking of chains, the rattling of maſſy keys, the creaking of the vaſt and numerous iron doors, the reſounding of the bolts, bars and locks, and above all the moſt ſhocking ſcreams and howlings of the unhappy wretches confined in this horrible place of reſtraint.

Theſe diſmal ſounds, too dreadful for deſcription, were rendered a thouſand times more hideous and terrible, by the reverberation of the echo from the vaulted roofs.

If parching thirſt and extreme cold could have allowed me any ſleep, it would have been effectually prevented by the agitation of mind occaſioned by theſe frightful noiſes that conſtantly broke in upon the ſilence of the night, in regular and melancholy ſucceſſion.

If deſpair ever approached me, it was in this cruel ſituation; for I not only expected to fall a victim to their vindictive barbarity, but actually felt my deſtruction advancing by inches; as my health was loſt, and my ſtrength declining every hour.

Yet ſtill my reſolution did not abandon me, for the conſcious integrity of my intentions and the juſtice of our cauſe ſupported the mind, and I determined to await my doom with patience and fortitude.

It was at this time that having accidentally obtained a piece of charcoal I wrote the following lines upon the wall, expreſſive of my ſituation and ſentiments.

Verſes

Verſes written with Charcoal on the Wall in Philadelphia Priſon.

CONFINEMENT hail! in honour's juſteſt cauſe,
True to our King, our Country, and our Laws;
Oppoſing anarchy, ſedition, ſtrife,
And every other bane of ſocial life.
Theſe Colonies of Britiſh freedom tir'd,
Are by the phrenzy of diſtraction fir'd;
Ruſhing to arms, they madly urge their fate,
And levy war againſt their parent ſtate.
Surrounding nations, in amazement, view
The ſtrange infatuation they purſue.
Virtue, in tears, deplores their fate in vain;
And *Satan* ſmiles to ſee diſorder reign;
The days of *Cromwell*, puritanic rage,
Return'd to curſe our more unhappy age.
We friends to freedom, government and laws,
Are deem'd inimical unto their cauſe:
In vaults, with bars and iron doors confin'd,
They hold our perſons, but can't rule the mind.
Act now we cannot, elſe we gladly wou'd:
Reſign'd we ſuffer for the public good.
Succeſs on earth ſometimes to ill is given,
To brave misfortunes is the gift of Heaven.
What men could do we did, our cauſe to ſerve,
We can't command ſucceſs, but we'll deſerve.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVI.

Insupportable Severity. Brought before the Congress. Promised better Treatment. Captain Campbell and General Prescot ill treated. Our lives endangered by rigid Confinement. A Committee of the Congress sent to visit us. Their Illiberality and Abuse. Greater Severities than ever. Subsisted only on Bread and Water. Thrown into the Dungeon where we almost perished. Philadelphia expected to be attacked by the British Army. Congress fly to Baltimore. Twenty British Prisoners marched in Irons through Derby, Marcus Hook, Brandywine, Wilmington, Newport, Christeen-Bridge, and the Head of Elk. Shocking Instance of Brutality at Newport. Description of Philadelphia and the Delaware. Opulence, Trade, and Number of Inhabitants in Pennsylvania.

THIS deplorable condition, to which I was reduced, at length moved even the iron heart of the Gaoler to compassion, and he intreated me to make application to the Congress for the preservation of life; observing that although he was restricted from allowing me pen, ink, and paper, he would send me a pencil and a card.

Determined never to acknowledge or submit to the authority of the Congress, unless by compulsion, I was much at a loss in what manner, or for what purpose to address them; and I concluded only to request, that they would either render my confinement supportable, or order me to immediate execution, which I infinitely preferred

ferred to my preſent ſituation of being deſtroyed by inches. This I tranſmitted to them by the Gaoler, written with a black lead pencil upon the back of a common playing card.

They then ordered me to be brought before them; and excepting ſome inſidious attempts to corrupt my principles, behaved towards me very politely, making apologies for what was paſt, and promiſing better treatment in future; at the ſame time declaring their aſtoniſhment at my deſperate attempt, as they called it, of reaching Detroit or Illonois alone, (for I had not divulged the circumſtance about Barclay,) and on foot, at that rigorous ſeaſon of the year, through a barbarous and hoſtile country, and without friends, money or reſources.

But although they promiſed to render my confinement more ſupportable, yet I was ordered back to priſon almoſt in the ſame ſituation as before, for my condition was very little amended by them.

However Captain Duncan Campbell of the eigtht-fourth regiment, or the Royal Highland Emigrants, a gentleman poſſeſſed of conſiderable property, and Lieutenant-Colonel of the militia, in Dutcheſs County in the province of New York, being alſo confined in the ſame priſon, and hearing of the cruelties exerciſed upon me, rendered me every ſervice in his power, that my precluded ſituation would admit of; and I gladly embrace this opportunity of returning that worthy and much eſteemed officer and friend my moſt graetful and ſincere acknowledgments.

Captain Campbell was likewiſe extremely ill, having been in priſon above four months, and it

was

was only to ſave his life that they at laſt admitted him to parole.

I was then removed into the room in the front lately occupied by Captain Campbell; and Major-General Preſcott, being brought priſoner to Philadelphia about this time, was confined in the room in the criminal apartment out of which I had been juſt removed.

Here he alſo was kept, until the dampneſs of the walls, and the unwholeſomeneſs of the place cauſed his wounds to break out afreſh, when he was carried into the city, and placed under a guard.

To hear that Colonel Connolly and Captain Cameron were here did not ſurpriſe me, being only what I had reaſon to expect; but you may gueſs at my aſtoniſhment to underſtand that the worthleſs aſſuming ignorant fellow, who had been ſo forward at Norfolk in giving falſe information againſt me, was actually in this priſon alſo.

Treachery from ſuch a wretch is what might be expected; but the extent, and at the ſame time the abſurdity of his treachery defeated its own purpoſes, and became truly ridiculous.

He had dealt out his informations and intelligence to the rebels, as liberally as he did before to the Earl of Dunmore and the commanding officers of his Majeſty's troops, and with nearly a ſimilar effect.

It ſeems that he had not only acquainted General Waſhington and the Congreſs with every tittle he had privately diſcovered of our expedition, thus rendered abortive, but had likewiſe contrived to deliver all the letters and diſpatches from the ſouthward, for General Gage and the army in Boſton,

Boſton, into the hands of the enemy, and thereby preſerved his own effects from being plundered.

This man however by mere dint of aſſurance contrived to impoſe himſelf upon a great many friends of government as a perſon of conſequence and loyal principles.

After ſome days the Gaoler brought me a paper containing a parole, which he ſaid was ſent for me to ſign, as they propoſed now to atone for their former ſeverity, and acquainted me that a Colonel Nixon had intereſted himſelf to procure it. But as the purport of the parole was of too illiberal a nature, and as Lieutenant-Colonel Connolly and Captain Cameron were not offered their paroles alſo, I refuſed to ſign it, for three days ſucceſſively, it being preſented to me daily for that purpoſe, and ſevere threats made uſe of towards me on declining it.

I was then removed into the ſame room with Colonel Connolly and Captain Cameron, the windows of which were nailed down, and both the iron and wooden door locked and chained cloſe upon us, ſo as not to admit a breath of freſh air; we were debarred the uſe of pen, ink and paper, no perſon whatever was permitted to ſee or ſpeak to us, and we were thus totally precluded from the whole world as effectually as if we had been in our graves.

In this manner we were held for ſix months, until our lives were deſpaired of, which was repreſented to the Congreſs, by Doctor Benjamin Ruſh, Doctor Cadwallader, and Doctor Bond, three eminent Phyſicians in Philadelphia, in written memorials; upon which that diſtruſtful junto appointed a committee of themſelves, compoſed

poſed of a Mr. Wilcot from Connecticut, and a Thomas Mac Kean of Newcaſtle upon Delaware, to inſpect the priſon, and ſee and examine into our ſituation and ſtate of health.

Mr. Wilcot behaved and ſpoke like a moderate man, but the violent raging rebel M'Kean introduced himſelf by abuſing in the groſſeſt terms the King, Parliament and Miniſtry, the whole Britiſh army and navy, and particularly the Earl of Dunmore, and General Preſcot.

He aſſured *us*, for our comfort, that *we* ſhould be retained for retaliation; that if Allen, or Proctor, or any of their leaders, then in the hands of the King's troops, were executed, we ſhould ſhare the ſame fate; and that we ought to think ourſelves very happy not to be in irons, as their priſoners were always kept in irons by the Britiſh, (which was a moſt notorious and malevolent falſehood.)

In order to preſerve us for the *laudable* and *humane* purpoſe of retaliation, he ordered our windows to be opened; and after ſome time an order alſo came from the Congreſs that we ſhould be permitted to walk, for two hours every day, in the hot, naſty, ſuffocating yard of the priſon, under the conſtant inſpection of two centinels; but this laſt indulgence was allowed us only for a few days.

All this time the Gaoler charged us at an extravagant rate for diet, fire, and candle, beſides an allowance that he received from the Congreſs for that purpoſe; by which means he extorted every farthing of money from us, as far as our credit then would go.

But being determined not to run in debt, I at length refuſed to pay him any more than the Congreſs

Congreſs allowed, and was obliged after this to ſubſiſt upon bread and water alone during ſeven weeks.

This gaoler's name was Thomas Dewees, as tyrannical, cruel, infamous a villain as ever diſgraced human nature.

Some time before this, Brigadier General M'Donald and twenty-five officers, chiefly Scots, among whom was the hoſpitable Dutchman, Michael Holt, mentioned in the former volume, were brought priſoners to this gaol, compelled to march all the way from Carolina on foot. They were confined in three cloſe rooms for ſix weeks and were afterwards allowed the liberty of walking in the yard of the priſon, only every third day.

In July the Congreſs appointed two new gaolers, brothers, of the name of Jewell, if poſſible more barbarous and tyrannical than the former, and removed him and all the debtors and criminals to another priſon, keeping only what they denominated priſoners of ſtate in ours.

The cruelties practiſed in this place were almoſt incredible, and not to be exceeded, perhaps not equalled, by that of the Spaniſh inquiſition.

There was always a ſtrong guard here, ready to inforce their moſt barbarous commands, the guard-room being in the priſon, and a great number of centinels poſted both within and without on conſtant duty.

The reſtrictions upon us were ſo ſevere that we were not permitted to ſpeak to any in different rooms.

On the twentieth of September, the gaoler *Jewell* accuſed me of converſing with Colonel Connolly,

Connolly, and ordered a ſerjeant and nine men to carry me by force into a naſty common guard-room, and from thence into a damp, cold, empty vaulted room, where I was compelled to lie on the bare floor, which gave me a violent cholic and cold.

I was then extremely ill, without any care or notice taken of me; and remained in that ſick helpleſs condition, locked up in a cold damp room by myſelf, without the leaſt aſſiſtance whatſoever.

This produced a dyſentery, which continued upon me for ſeven weeks, and reduced me to the verge of death; yet ſtill I was kept locked up, without any care, attendance, or notice.

Dr. Benjamin Ruſh, then a member of the Congreſs, a man eminent in phyſic, but as eminent in rebellion, and ſtill more ſo in unfulfilled profeſſions, after tantalizing me with the expectation of a parole, exchange, and aſſurances of very great regard and commiſſeration, came one day and informed me, that many members of the Congreſs declared they perſonally knew me to be ſo determinedly inimical to the independence of the American States, and to have always exerted ſuch influence and intereſt againſt them, that I need not expect nor hope for any kind of indulgence whatſoever, not even to ſave life.

However after this, thanks to heaven, I recovered: then Captain Cameron, Captain M'Lean, and I were confined in a room together, ſelected from the reſt to experience the dire effects of their inhuman malice; and a ſentry extraordinary was poſted at our door, to prevent our

our having the leaſt intercourſe or communication with any one.

In December the gaoler came with a guard, and plundered us again, under pretence of ſearching for papers; and abuſed us in the moſt injurious manner.

About this time the Britiſh army approaching through the Jerſeys towards Philadelphia, the Congreſs were ſtruck with a panic, and fled to Baltimore.

On the tenth of December the North Carolina priſoners were ſent off to Baltimore under a guard; and on the eleventh ſixty Jerſey men, from Shrewſbury, chiefly Quakers, were alſo ſent away, every two bound together with cords, under a ſmall guard likewiſe.

Our confinement was now become ſo inſupportable that even death would have been an agreeable deliverance.

This ſet us on a deſperate ſcheme of breaking out; and with incredible danger, difficulty, and labour, we made way through the ſtrong arched vaulting, cut afterwards with our penknives through a two inch oak plank door, and got up through the cupola, on the top of the priſon; intending to deſcend by a rope, to croſs the Delaware, and puſh forward to the Britiſh army then at Burlington and Mount Holly, only eighteen miles diſtant.

But our rope, which conſiſted only of ſheets and blankets tied together at the corners, gave way with Captain Cameron who deſcended firſt, and he fell forty-eight feet perpendicular on the pavement. His life was miraculouſly preſerved, but his bones were cruſhed, and he ſuffered amazingly in conſequence thereof.

Captain

Captain M'Lean and I were then ſtripped of our money, papers, and of every individual thing we had, not excepting even my journal, and were thrown into the dungeon for condemned felons, without light, bed-cloaths, or ſtraw, or even our great coats to preſerve us from the intenſe cold, and without food or drink for thirty-ſix hours.

Here I expected nothing but to end my days in miſery; but the goodneſs and juſtice of our cauſe ſupported my ſpirits, and diſregarding my own ſituation I felt nothing for myſelf, all my concern and diſtreſs was for poor Captain Cameron, as they all cried "Let him die and be dam-"ned," when I intreated them to aſſiſt him, offering them two hundred dollars (all the money I then had) to ſave his life; upon farther enquiry concerning him, they immediately robbed me of all my money, telling me, that he "was dead, and in hell, and wiſhing me in the "ſame condition."

In this horrible ſituation we remained until orders were given for our immediate removal to Baltimore, as they every day expected an attack upon Philadelphia.

They then brought out of priſon twenty of us in all; viz. ſeven gentlemen, eight ſerjeants and privates belonging to the twenty-third and other regiments, and five ſailors.

They put us in irons, every two chained cloſe together, and with a guard of ſixty choſen Dutchmen (Germans), ſet out on the march to Baltimore on foot, croſſing the Schuylkill, going through Derby, and that night lodged us in the

the common gaol at Cheſter, without taking off the irons at all.

The irons prevented me from ſleep every night; beſides they were too ſmall, cutting into my fleſh, cauſing me to ſwell prodigiouſly, and were exceſſively painful.

Yet in this condition, with fixed bayonets they forced us to march on until ten o'clock each night, which was particularly ſevere on me, who had been cloſe confined thirteen months without any kind of exerciſe, ſo that my feet were covered with bliſters, which breaking, my boots were filled with blood; yet ſtill I was compelled to puſh forward.

The names of ſeveral of my fellow-priſoners were, Meſſ. William and Bridger Goodrich, and Bridger Jones, of Virginia; Mr. Abraham Wynant, of Staten Iſland, New York; Thomas Slater, of Baltimore; Captain Neal M'Lean of the eighty-fourth regiment; John Gee, ſon of Mr. Gee, of Stockport near Manchester, in England; Serjeant White of the twenty-third regiment; and Kirby and Barlow, &c. of the ſixteenth light dragoons; Colonel Connolly being permitted to remain at Philadelphia, and Captain Cameron being incapable of being removed.

We paſſed by Marcus Hook, and the famous mills, near the mouth of the river Brandywine, the moſt extraordinary and valuable perhaps in the world, and through the beautiful town of Wilmington without halting; and came to Newport about ten o'clock, where we remained for the night.

This Newport, although a paltry little place, ſtands high in the rank of iniquity, for it is the very

very neſt of ſedition, where rebellion ſits brooding over the demons of licentiouſneſs, diſcord, perſecution, cruelty, and outrage.

There happened at this deteſted place an inſtance of ſavage brutality, that the greateſt barbarians would bluſh to be guilty of. There was a friendleſs unfortunate Engliſh ſervant girl at the houſe where we were confined, who, greatly ſhocked at ſeeing us in irons, and being well affected to her king and country, happened to drop ſome expreſſions that betrayed thoſe ſentiments; this poor friendleſs girl, for this crime alone, after being ſeverely beaten both by her maſter and miſtreſs, was turned out of doors in the ſtreet at midnight, in a degree of cold not to be conceived in England, and, being ſeized upon by our ruffian guard, was dragged into their guard-room, where ſhe was forcibly abuſed by ſeventeen of the villains, in the moſt groſs, brutal, and injurious manner poſſible.

We left this deteſted place in the morning, and after paſſing through a ſmall town named Chriſteen Bridge, arrived at another pretty town in the province of Maryland, at the head of Elk River, at the extremity of the Bay of Cheſapeak, that afternoon.

The province of Penſylvania, through which I had juſt paſſed, contains eleven counties, and generally conſiſts of ſtrong land well calculated for farming, which is the culture made uſe of, wheat and other grain compoſing the ſtaple of the province.

The whole country is finely diverſified by hills and dales; there are valuable farms, good buildings, plenty of water, and excellent mills throughout the whole country.

Nothing

Nothing can be more beautiful than the banks of the Delaware, particularly below Philadelphia. Wilmington eſpecially ſtands in a ſituation that cannot be excelled.

There are a great number of fine towns in this province; but they are all totally eclipſed by the beautiful, large, and elegant city of Philadelphia, as well as every other town is in North America.

This city is ſituated on the neck of an iſthmus formed by the rivers Schuylkill and Delaware, which are here juſt two miles diſtant.

The town is laid out from river to river, with the ſtreets ſtrait, wide, exactly regular, and croſſing each other at right angles; but only that part bordering on the Delaware is as yet built upon: and at preſent it contains about thirty-five thouſand inhabitants.

The ſtreets have ſingular appellations, being named Second-ſtreet, Third-ſtreet, Fourth-ſtreet, Fifth-ſtreet, &c. which are thoſe that run lengthways of the town, or parallel to the rivers, excepting Water-ſtreet, and Front-ſtreet, which are neareſt to the Delaware; whilſt thoſe that run from river to river are called after every different ſpecies of trees, ſuch as Cheſtnut-ſtreet, Spruce-ſtreet, Vine-ſtreet, Walnut-ſtreet, Cedar-ſtreet, Pine-ſtreet, &c. excepting Market-ſtreet, which is in the center, and Mulberry or Arch-ſtreet, and Saſſafras or Race-ſtreet, which are parallel to it.

The houſes in Philadelphia are of brick, and well built; the public edifices are elegant and expenſive, the New-Priſon, in which we were confined and were alſo the firſt inhabitants, having coſt no leſs than thirty thouſand pounds.

But

But this fine town, whoſe inhabitants were once juſtly famed for univerſal philanthropy, and for the exerciſe of every humane and ſocial virtue, has been ſo totally altered by the effects of the rebellion, that it is now a perpetual ſcene of diſcord and confuſion, inſtead of the friendſhip, harmony, and order that once prevailed. And the entire change of their diſpoſitions, the illiberality of their principles, and the cruelty of their inclinations, are ſufficiently evinced by the ſhocking and barbarous treatment we experienced therein for almoſt twelve months.

This province includes two of the largeſt and moſt beautiful rivers in North America, viz. the Suſquehannah and the Delaware; the laſt of which is navigable near two hundred miles, including the Bay.

At Philadelphia the Delaware is a mile and three quarters wide, and becomes broader all the way down, ſome parts of the Delaware Bay being above thirty miles over, and at the mouth, viz. from Cape Hinlopen to Cape May, it is about eighteen or twenty miles; juſt below Wilmington this river is five miles over.

The Delaware heads not far from Albany; and from the ſource of the Mowhawk's branch to the mouth at Cape May and Cape Hinlopen it is about three hundred and fifty miles. This river is the boundary between Penſylvania and the province of New Jerſey.

Although the heats in ſummer are exceſſively violent, yet the cold and froſts in winter are as ſevere, even to a degree of rigour not to be conceived in Britain; and this extreme cold extends alſo through Maryland and part of Virginia.

I have

I have ſeen the vaſt rivers of the Delaware and the Potomack freeze quite over in one night where they were five or ſix miles wide.

When we croſſed the Suſquehannah upon the ice, horſes and waggons made a common road over it, and it was above half a mile wide. The Delaware and the Potomack are alſo croſſed in the ſame manner conſtantly every winter for the ſpace of two months.

When a thaw comes, and the ice breaks entirely in theſe vaſt rivers, the ſight is dreadful and tremendous. The rivers rage, and the ice roars, ariſes and, tumbles in immenſe cakes, with a hideous noiſe and bellowing not to be deſcribed.

The rivers are totally impaſſible on ſuch occaſions, and they generally continue in that condition for ſeveral days.

The trade of this province was very conſiderable, which all centered in the city and port of Philadelphia, and amounted annually to ſeven hundred and twenty thouſand pounds in exports; about ſix hundred and twenty thouſand pounds in imports; which employed three hundred and ninety-five ſail of ſhipping inwards, and three hundred and fifty outwards; maintaining and giving bread to ſeven thouſand five hundred ſeamen.

The trade of this province conſiſts of grain, flour, timber, proviſions, lumber, ſhips built for ſale, copper ore, iron in pigs and bars, beſides almoſt every commodity of Europe, Aſia and America, this being a large and general emporium of commerce; but wheat and flour appear to be the ſtaple or principal produce.

The merchants of Philadelphia are opulent, and carry on a very extenſive trade.

The warehouſes, quays, and wharfs are excellent, with water ſufficient for ſhips of five hundred tons to load and unload cloſe to them, but in the winter it is dangerous for large veſſels to remain in this river on account of the driving of the ice.

Here is alſo a large and commodious market-place; and a college, that was very flouriſhing before the war.

There are barracks alſo, convenient and handſome, which were erected for the king's troops; and, beſides ſeveral others of different kinds, there was an hoſpital for lunatics in Philadelphia, the only one in America.

In the enumeration of the inhabitants made or rather publiſhed by the Congreſs, this province is ſet down as containing three hundred and fifty thouſand, including the three lower counties of New-caſtle, Kent, and Suſſex upon Delaware.

I conceive this to be over-rated about fifty thouſand or upwards; and above one third of the number is blacks. A great proportion of the whites in this province is Germans, Swedes, and Iriſh.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVII.

Description of the Guard. The Captain by Trade a Porter. Their Behaviour. Meet several companies of Rebels. A curious Scene. Put on board of a Privateer, and thrown into the Hold in Irons. Insulted and maltreated by two American Colonels, by Trade, one a Hatter, the other a Lighterman. Arrive at Baltimore. Irons taken off. Kindly and generously treated by the Inhabitants. Congress disapprove of this Lenity, change the Guard, and order us to be treated with great Severity. Effect an escape, one retaken. Set sail down the Chesapeak. Land on the Eastern Shore. Most alarming Situation. Find Friends. Meet with a most welcome Reception.

OUR guard, which consisted of dismounted dragoons, was officered with a captain, a lieutenant, and a cornet; but the serjeants appeared to have the principal command, the officers themselves being obliged to obey their orders in preference to their own.

The captain was named Jacobs, by trade a *porter* of Philadelphia, by birth a German, and by inclination, disposition, and insensibility, almost a brute.

Seven of us, although in irons, were delivered to this fellow as gentlemen, with orders to treat us with attention and respect; this really was performed in an exemplary manner, as the captain, lieutenant, and cornet, always waited upon us in prison in every menial office, and never presumed to speak to us without cap

in hand; notwithſtanding all this, they at no time relaxed a tittle in their ſeverity and rigour, which they exerciſed upon us equally ſtrict as on the privates, during the whole journey; and they really had orders, in caſe of a reſcue, eſcape, or any other danger, to put us all to death immediately, which at one time they had almoſt actually put in execution.

During this march we met ſeveral companies of rebels, all in rags, going to reinforce Waſhington's army, and among the reſt a Captain Cook from Maryland, with two hundred men, all as drunk as lords.

This motley crew, perceiving our ſcarlet cloaths at a diſtance, took us for an advanced party of the Britiſh army, cocked their pieces, intending as uſual to fire and run away; but, after they diſcovered that we were priſoners, they forgot to uncock their firelocks, or to form their line of march, and as they paſſed us a great many of their pieces went off by accident.

Several of them who were ſailors, bawling out to us, "What chear, brothers?" and ſtaggering drunk, blundered into the midſt of our ranks, until their heels were brought up by our irons. As they fell their firelocks went off, more to their own ſurprize than ours, and fortunately without doing us any injury.

They got up again on their feet, as well as they could, wondering to ſee us in that condition, and cried out, "D—n my eyes, brothers, "don't be afraid. We are ſorry to ſee you be-"layed together though. By G—d, you are "good fellows, and ſo is King George; but no "matter for that now. D—n my eyes, bro-"thers, you ſhall drink ſome grog with us," &c.

Upon

Upon this Captain Cook, their doughty commander, began to harangue our poor fellows with all the pomp, formality, and froth of self-conſequence, noiſe, and folly, in order to prevail on them to enter into the rebel ſervice.

He received for anſwer a general huzza for King George, which incenſed him to ſuch a degree that he drew his ſword againſt our poor fellows in irons; but our guards drove him off.

When we arrived at the head of Elk, being unable to proceed farther by land, we were put on board a privateer bound for Baltimore; and, ſurely it muſt be to mortify us and render us uncomfortable, they ſent our little baggage and cloaths on board of another privateer.

But all this not being ſufficient to glut the malevolence of theſe ſavages, they ſuffered two of their colonels to take poſſeſſion of the cabbin and ſteerage of the veſſel, and thruſt us down in the hold amongſt the ballaſt, which conſiſted of pig iron and ſtones, on which we were obliged to repoſe, without great coats, ſtraw, or bedding of any kind, ſtill in irons, every two being chained cloſe together, although we were guarded by theſe ſixty Germans, beſides the privateer's crew.

They even carried their cruelty ſo far as not to ſuffer the hatches to be ſhut over us, although it was exceſſively cold, and the ſnow was falling faſt upon us.

In this condition did they keep us, for two days and nights, until we arrived at Baltimore, without abating the leaſt of their rigour, having had but one ſcanty meal of indifferent food, during all this time, which we brought along

with us; and through the whole journey we were obliged to bear our own expences and that of the guard likewiſe; while the two colonels, and the reſt of the rebel officers, were carouſing in eaſe, plenty drunkenneſs, and riot, and were perpetually inſulting and maltreating us the whole time. Theſe fellows were Colonel Price, a hatter in Frederick Town, and Colonel Gunby, an illiterate rude ſkipper of a common bay craft, ſomething reſembling the coal lighters in the Thames.

On our paſſage up the Patapſco, we paſſed a fort, which had been erected, and a chain or boom, cheveaux de frize, &c. thrown acroſs the river, about five miles below Fells Point, or Baltimore, where we arrived very ſoon after.

The committee of Baltimore being much diſpleaſed at our being in irons, ordered them immediately to be taken off, and poſted a captain's guard of the Maryland matroſſes over us; but the two Meſſrs. Goodriches were ſeparated from us, and thrown into the common priſon, where the North Carolina officers were alſo confined.

I found Baltimore very much altered ſince the laſt time I was there; the friends to government having increaſed ſurpriſingly, and even the diſaffected being become more moderate and liberal in their ſentiments.

In a few days the Baltimore militia relieved the Maryland matroſſes, and mounted our guard; but ſo generous and friendly were they to us, and ſuch confidence did they repoſe in our words, that they not only carried us home with them to their houſes, but likewiſe permitted us to go at large for any length of time, and to any place, we

we pleaſed; indeed all the inhabitants of Baltimore ſeemed to vie with each other in ſhewing us every civility and kindneſs.

This indulgence however was but of ſhort duration, for as ſoon as the Congreſs heard of it they ordered the militia to be removed, and the artillery again to mount our guard, which conſiſted of fifty-two men, of theſe nine were on conſtant duty.

Our reſtrictions were again rendered very ſevere; for John Hancock, then Preſident of the Congreſs, and Charles Thompſon their Secretary, came in perſon every day, to the houſe in which we were confined, to ſee that the rigid orders iſſued from Congreſs concerning us were ſtrictly executed.

This Chriſtmas was the ſecond I had paſſed in this province while a priſoner; the firſt being at Frederick Town.

Our windows were now nailed down, and the ſame ſeverities attempted to bo exerciſed towards us as were made uſe of in Philadelphia; but as we were not in a priſon, and as the individuals of our guard generally friendly, our confinement was not rendered half ſo rigorous and intolerable as it was in that city.

Indeed all the inhabitants of Maryland, eſpecially ſuch as were not Germans, and even many of them likewiſe, treated us with more humanity, liberality, and frequently even generoſity, than we experienced elſewhere; and it is no ſmall ſatisfaction to me to be able to give this teſtimony in their favour.

As for our guard they were chiefly Europeans, and in general ſo friendly to us, and ſo well af-

fected to his Majesty, that could I have brought them clear off, the greatest part would gladly have come away with me.

Being informed that his Majesty's ship the Pearl was in the bay of Chesapeak, we resolved to make a vigorous attempt to escape, that we might get on board of her: and for this purpose I privately engaged a sloop to remain at anchor waiting for us, about seven miles below the fort chain and cheveaux de frize, for which I paid at the rate of three pounds a day, to convey us down the bay.

On the night of the tenth of January, 1776, having provided cords, and every necessary implement for our purpose, and having engaged a guide to wait for us at a friend's house in town, we bribed the two centinels at our door to allow us to go into an adjoining empty room, and from thence we descended to the ground with ropes, which being very small cut burnt and lacerated my hands excessively. This risque was very great, as there were three centinels below who had not been bribed, and from whose vigilance we had every thing to apprehend.

The danger was evinced by the event; for only three of us got clear, the fourth being taken in the attempt.

It was Captain M'Lean and Slater that escaped along with me; Jones was retaken, and Wynant was left sick.

After the greatest risques imaginable, for we met both the patrole and the grand rounds whom we avoided by lying flat on the ground, and after a very fatiguing and circuitous route, we got on board the sloop a little after midnight, hoisted

hoiſted ſail with a fair wind, and ſtood down the river.

At day-break we found ourſelves below Annapolis, about fifty miles by water below Baltimore, having by ſailing in the night eſcaped the obſervation of the forts there and the privateers and ſpy-boats conſtantly cruiſing off the harbour.

About noon we were much alarmed by a little privateer that kept hovering about us, but we ſtood boldly on, without appearing to regard her, and at night anchored in Hooper's Straits, near the Tangier Iſlands; at leaſt an hundred miles from the place of our eſcape.

Here we received the diſagreeable intelligence that there was no King's ſhip in the Cheſapeak, which effectually diſconcerted all our ſchemes.

This piece of information determined us to land on the Eaſtern ſhore, and proceed acroſs the country to Lewes Town, and Cape Hinlopen, at the mouth of the Delaware, where we heard his Majeſty's ſhip the Roebuck was ſtationed. For this purpoſe I ordered the ſloop into Nanticoke River, where I left her and my companions with a promiſe to ſend for them next day, if I found friends.

At this place I hired a poor man to carry me in a canoe down the Nanticoke, and up Wicocomico River where I underſtood a great many friends to government reſided; and I told him that I wanted to purchaſe a quantity of proviſions and plank. Although this man was loyal, I did not truſt him with our ſecret, leſt, on a diſcovery of his having afforded me any aſſiſtance, the poor man might be ruined.

It was dark when we ſet out, the night was exceſſively cold, freezing even the ſalt water, which was ſix or ſeven miles acroſs; we had eight

miles down the Nanticoke, and five miles up the Wicocomico to go, and I never ſuffered much more with cold in my life, having got wet and frozen, and the river being covered with ice which greatly impeded our progreſs.

The houſe we were bound to was the old man's ſons and when we arrived there, about midnight, not a living creature was within; we were obliged to break open the window to get in to make a fire; and the old man then ſet out in ſearch of his ſon, leaving me alone in the houſe, and was to return in an hour.

That time elapſed without any appearance of his return; the ſecond, and even the third hour paſſing in the ſame manner, I began to be exceedingly alarmed, eſpecially as there was a wind-mill at this place, and if the old man did not betray me which I really apprehended, ſo many people would come to the mill in the morning that I muſt certainly be diſcovered.

My ſituation here was ſo extremely uncomfortable, that, although this was the fourth night and day I had paſſed entirely without ſleep, I never cloſed my eyes. In the midſt of an unknown hoſtile country, with a very high reward offered for apprehending me, and in the power of utter ſtrangers, whoſe poverty alone might induce them to betray me, if they themſelves ſhould happen to entertain any ſuſpicions concerning me, every anxiety and dread was juſtified.

After another hour of the greateſt uneaſineſs, the old man at length, at four o'clock in the morning, returned, bringing with him his ſon and all his family.

In

In the morning the young man and I ſet out on foot for the ſettlement where the loyaliſts chiefly reſided, leaving the old man to remain there until the return of his ſon, and then ready to execute the orders he brought from me.

We travelled ſixteen miles before breakfaſt, and then found friends, to whom I revealed myſelf, and who gave me a moſt cordial and kind reception.

I then ſent the young man back immediately, to deſire his father to bring over my two companions to his houſe that night, where I ſent horſes for them; and before day they arrived at the place where I was.

I acted thus purpoſely to diſconcert the enemy in caſe of a purſuit, which it effectually did; firſt by ſending them up the Nanticoke, where our ſloop lay at anchor all this time, and after the moſt ſtrict ſearch after us there in vain, for we came down the Nanticoke again in a canoe and went up the Wicocomico, they gave up the purſuit.

About a year afterwards, our route being accidentally diſcovered, when they apprehended the poor old man whoſe name was Timmons, he cleared himſelf by making an affidavit that he had not the leaſt knowledge or conception who we were that he had been employed by, which was indeed ſtrictly true.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXVIII.

Offered a Guard of two hundred Men. Decline it, and accept of two Guides. Receive the kindeſt Aſſiſtance from many of the principal Inhabitants. Arrive at Indian River. The Roebuck left that Station. The Falcon touched there, but would not take us on board. Cruel Diſappointment. Ardour and Zeal of the Loyaliſts. Inſurrection of the Loyaliſts. Perſuade both Sides to diſperſe. Friendſhip and Kindneſs of the Men, and great Goodneſs of the Women. Character of the American Ladies. Deep Snow. Diſcover ſome Ships. Set out in a Canoe. Driven out to Sea in a dark ſtormy Night. Dreadful Situation. Accidentally diſcover the Preſton in a prodigious thick Fog. Received on board by Commodore Hotham and all the Officers of the Preſton. A Hurricane deſtroys the Canoe, and blows the Ship out to Sea.

THE friends to government here were happy beyond expreſſion at this proof of my confidence, and that it was in their power to aſſiſt us; offering us a guard of two hundred men to convey us ſafe on board the Roebuck at Cape Hinlopen.

This offer, more conſiſtent with zeal than prudence, I declined, and deſired only the aſſiſtance of two guides to conduct us privately in the night; and of a great many that offered, each ſeemed more deſirous than the other to be made choice of.

Two reſolute and zealous loyaliſts, well acquainted with the country and inhabitants all the way, accompanied us, and rendered us every ſervice

ſervice imaginable. They were named Mr. Hugh Dean and Mr. Robert Campbell, both Scotſmen; the firſt now reſides in Nova Scotia, and the latter is an officer in the ſeventy-firſt regiment.

The place where we were thus kindly received was in the vicinity of a ſmall town named Princeſs-Ann, the court-houſe and chief place in Somerſet County, which abounds with loyaliſts throughout.

Every night we were viſited by ſome reſpectable friends of government, among whom were Mr. Ingram a moſt worthy loyaliſt, a merchant late of Norfolk in Virginia, Mr. Sheriff, a merchant alſo, both natives of Scotland, and Mr. Jones, then high ſheriff of the county, now a Captain in the Britiſh ſervice.

The diſtance to Cape Hinlopen was about eighty-five miles, and we travelled in the night for privacy.

After ſeveral difficulties we arrived at Rehoboth Bay, at the mouth of Indian River, and there to our extreme concern and mortification we were informed that the Roebuck had ſailed from Delaware Bay on the eighth inſtant, juſt a week before our arrival.

But on the day following his Majeſty's ſloop of war the Falcon having landed ſome priſoners, and burnt a ſchooner at the mouth of Indian River, we ſent Slator on board of her, in a little canoe or punt that could carry but one perſon, to deſire the Captain to ſend his boat for us, and for two gentlemen of the firſt conſequence, property, and intereſt, in the county and vicinity of Suſſex, named Thomas Robinſon and Boaz Manlove, Eſqrs. who were alſo perſecuted

ſecuted for their loyalty, being forced to abandon their families and homes, and hearing of us had joined company.

But Captain Linzee of the Falcon, though he had landed ſome priſoners near the place where we were, could not be prevailed upon, either to ſend his boat, or to wait only two hours for us; although he was moſt earneſtly intreated to do ſo by Slator, whom we ſent on board for that purpoſe, and who alſo particularly and repeatedly informed him, "that we were Britiſh priſoners eſcaped at the certain hazard of our lives from a long and moſt cruel confinement, and that two of the firſt gentlemen of property and intereſt in the country were along with us, extremely anxious to get on board, being driven from their homes to avoid the perſecution of the rebels."

This was inexpreſſibly diſcouraging to all the friends to government; and one of the moſt truly mortifying diſappointments to us that we could poſſibly have experienced.

Next morning we viewed the ocean with many a longing earneſt look, ſtill flattering ourſelves with hope that the ſhip might return, but all in vain.

I continued with the two gentlemen I have juſt mentioned, all well armed; and we intended to keep concealed until another ſhip of war ſhould arrive on the coaſt. But from that time, which was the twentieth of January, none of his Majeſty's ſhips, nor any Britiſh cruiſer touched at that important ſtation, until the twelfth of March.

During this time the American frigate the Randolph came down the Delaware from Philadelphia,

delphia, proudly cruiſed off and on the Cape for three days, being really a very fine lofty veſſel, then ſtood out to ſea. Taking her for a King's ſhip we had almoſt gone on board, but ſoon were undeceived by our friends, who were indefatigable in aſſiſting us.

It is impoſſible to do juſtice to the ardor and earneſtneſs with which the loyaliſts endeavoured to ſerve us, and to ſupport and defend his Majeſty's intereſt.

I am confident that there was not one of them but would have chearfully loſt the laſt drop of his blood for the King, and for Britiſh government.

The principal gentlemen of the country for ſixty or eighty miles around came conſtantly to us, in the dead of night, in order to aſſiſt us, and to furniſh us with all the intelligence of the country. They acquainted me with the very favourable diſpoſition of a great majority of the inhabitants to his Majeſty's government, and requeſted my directions for their future conduct.

They alſo intreated me to repreſent many circumſtances of great importance, of which they informed me, to the Commander in Chief, ſhould I be ſo fortunate as to reach New York.

I adviſed them to cheriſh, by every means in their power, the laudable zeal of the well-affected, but to reſtrain their ardor, and at all events to avoid or prevent any inſurrection of the friends to government, until ſuch time as they were properly ſupported, which period I imagined, and earneſtly hoped, could not be far diſtant.

But

But every exertion for this neceſſary purpoſe was fruſtrated by the rebels having received intimation of our being in ſome manner aſſiſted by Mr. Dean, whom in conſequence of this they ſhot through the thigh, and began to commit ſeveral acts of violence and oppreſſion towards the friends to government.

Upon this eleven hundred of the loyaliſts aſſembled, and encamped at Parker's Mill, near a ſmall town named Saliſbury upon the river Nanticoke, in Somerſet county, Maryland, where they blocked up the rebels, who had alſo collected in Saliſbury to the number of three hundred well ſupplied with artillery, ammunition, and ſmall-arms, of which the loyaliſts were utterly deſtitute; yet the rebels did not dare to face them.

On the eleventh of February about midnight, a meſſenger arrived from the loyaliſts with the above mentioned intelligence, and requeſting me to go there and take the command.

Upon this I conſulted with the principal gentlemen in his Majeſty's intereſt in the county of Suſſex upon the Delaware, and it was concluded by every one that we ſhould endeavour to keep all quiet, until a proper ſupport ſhould arrive; as ſuch a number of undiſciplined men, without order, ammunition, officers, or arms, and without tents, forage, or proviſions, taking the field and entering upon action at this rigorous ſeaſon, muſt draw upon themſelves the whole ſtrength of the Congreſs from all quarters; and they would not only be cut off, but all the loyaliſts, and the whole of his Majeſty's intereſt on this ſide of the Cheſapeak, (which was very conſiderable) muſt by this imprudent and ill-timed meaſure be inevitably ruined.

For

For theſe reaſons I wrote to the leading men among the loyaliſts in Somerſet to uſe their utmoſt endeavours to perſuade both ſides to diſperſe, without injury to the perſons or property of any of our friends; yet by all means to be prepared againſt the worſt, as the faith of rebels was not to be relied on; deſiring them to ſend us notice, by a faithful meſſenger, if the rebels would not conſent to this propoſal, that we might then exert our utmoſt efforts for the common cauſe, and for the general advantage of his Majeſty's intereſt; intending, if the rebels were determined on bloodſhed, inſtantly to ſeize on the magazines and artillery in Lewis's Town, to raiſe and embody all the loyaliſts in Suſſex, and to make uſe of the moſt active and vigorous exertions againſt the common enemy in all quarters.

An original copy of this letter was laid before and approved of by the Commander in Chief.

As the whole country was infeſted by marauding parties, to prevent a diſcovery I put the letter, rolled up like a ſcroll, into a hollow made in the end of a crooked ſtick, plugging up the end ſo as to render it imperceptible; and in this manner ſent it by Hoffington, the meſſenger, who was to uſe it as a ſwitch to ride with.

He was taken five or ſix times, ſearched and examined by different parties of the loyaliſts as well as of the rebels, but was diſcharged, and at laſt delivered it ſafe to the perſons for whom it was intended; after going into Saliſbury, and diſcovering the poſture, ſtrength, and diſpoſition of the rebels there.

On

On the ſixteenth, Hoffington, the meſſenger, returned with information, that in conſequence of this letter, and the earneſt endeavours of thoſe to whom it was ſent, both the loyaliſts and the rebels had diſperſed, and each returned to their reſpective habitations; which proved to be a moſt judicious and fortunate meaſure, as the Congreſs ſoon afterwards diſpatched General Smallwood, and Colonel Gueſt, with five companies of artillery, ſix field-pieces, and ſix armed veſſels, from the Weſtern ſhore againſt them, beſides two regiments from the Eaſtern ſhore of Virginia, to quell the inſurrection; who, upon their arrival, finding all quiet, returned, after committing a few depredations.

Although there were ſo many loyaliſts in this country, all of whom I verily believe would have chearfully afforded us any aſſiſtance in their power, yet we thought it moſt prudent to diſcover ourſelves to as few as poſſible; neither did we inform but a very ſmall number of our beſt friends of our ſecret places of retreat, and for the greater ſecurity we kept cloſe concealed during the day, making our removals and excurſions in the night; nor did we ever remain three days together at any one place.

For my own part I went conſtantly well armed, having procured a firelock and bayonet, a pair of piſtols, and a ſword, with plenty of ammunition made up into cartridges; and I never went to reſt without all theſe at my ſide, nor did I ever part with them for a moment.

As from what I had already experienced, I infinitely preferred death to captivity, I was moſt reſolutely determined to defend myſelf to the laſt extremity, even if five hundred men ſhould attack

tack me, for they ſhould never have taken me alive. This reſolution rendered my mind tranquil and eaſy, and furniſhed me with calmneſs and confidence in the midſt of every danger.

Our ſituation unavoidably rendered us liable to many alarms.

One night in particular, the maſter of the houſe wherein we were concealed awaked us about midnight, and informed us that we ſhould all be taken for we were ſurrounded with the enemy, and by the moon-light we could plainly perceive that a formidable number of men had actually encompaſſed the houſe; we immediately prepared for defence, and were levelling our pieces againſt them, when Mr. Manlove diſtinguiſhed one of them to be his brother.

By this we diſcovered that they were friends, who had given us greater ſurprize by endeavouring to avoid it, and had collected in ſuch numbers, from a great diſtance around, altogether by accident, to furniſh us with intelligence concerning the rebels.

But although the men in this loyal country were friendly and true, and ready to afford us every aſſiſtance, it was from the goodneſs, care, and fidelity of the women that we received our principal comfort. Their endearing ſociety, kindneſs and attention were beyond example, and made us ample amends for all the hardſhips and dangers of our perilous ſituation.

In what has been formerly mentioned about the ferocity and ſavage brutality of the Americans, the ladies muſt always be excepted, for they in general are truly humane and benevolent.

Excepting

Excepting a very few inſtances, during my captivity and eſcape, the conduct and ſentiments of the American women have been conſtantly amiable and good.

Throughout the whole of this country they excel the men, beyond compariſon, in every appearance and accompliſhment, nor are they equally contaminated with rebellion; for it is by no means uncommon to ſee the wives of the moſt violent rebels, even of their Generals, perfectly loyal and well-affected, and ready to furniſh intelligence and aſſiſtance to the friends of government, at every hazard to themſelves and the greateſt riſques imaginable.

I always reprobated the idea of the fair ſex being incapable of keeping ſecrets, and here it was my fortune to experience the falſity of it in the moſt ample manner, and in hundreds of inſtances; being in the power of a great many women of every deſcription, and not one of them ever betrayed me: but on the contrary they have frequently concealed me in their bed-chambers, whilſt their rebel ſuitors (to whom ſometimes they were even engaged in marriage contracts,) paid them viſits, which they contrived to render as ſhort as poſſible, for female ingenuity is never at a loſs.

On the ſeventeenth of February we were joined by Dr. P. Kennedy from Baltimore, who alſo wiſhed to take refuge on board a King's ſhip from the perſecution of the rebels. And on the firſt of March there came on a violent ſnow ſtorm, which laſted three days, and was then three feet deep, a circumſtance very uncommon in this part of America.

On

On the day after the ſnow ceaſed falling, there were no leſs than thirty-two deer killed in the vicinity of the place where we were concealed.

Apprehenſive of being diſcovered, our ſituation having now become particularly irkſome and dangerous, not only from the ſnow, which enabled our footſteps to be traced, but alſo from this long delay near one place, although we were perpetually changing our hidden retreats ſometimes to very conſiderable diſtances from each other, and deſpairing of a ſhip of war arriving on the coaſt in any reaſonable time, we were forming many ſchemes of proceeding to New York; ſometimes of croſſing the Delaware Bay, and travelling by land through the Jerſeys, ſometimes of rowing in a canoe all along the coaſt, and many others equally hazardous and enterpriſing; when at laſt, on the eleventh of March, we diſcovered two lofty ſhips and a ſloop ſtanding in for the Cape, and without waiting to hear what they were, immediately prepared for our departure.

At night, on the twelfth of March, after taking a tender and affectionate farewell of theſe truly meritorious and ineſtimable friends, who at every poſſible riſque had rendered us ſuch great and eſſential ſervices, we ſet out, in a canoe, from the head of Rehoboth Bay, bound for the men of war at the Cape.

There were eleven of us in the canoe, viz. Thomas Robinſon and Boaz Manlove of Suſſex, Eſquires, Doctor Kennedy of Baltimore, now a Captain in his Majeſty's ſervice in the regiment of Maryland Loyaliſts, Mr. Kollock of Suſſex, now a Captain in the regiment of Loyal Americans, and myſelf, beſides three more white men, and three Indians.

Our

Our canoe was formed out of the trunk of a ſingle tree hollowed or dug out, and we depended ſolely upon oars, as theſe kind of veſſels are at beſt very dangerous, andnever carry a ſail.

We had to row over Rehoboth Bay ſix miles to Indian River, thence four miles over the bar at the mouth, then eighteen miles upon the Atlantic Ocean, and afterwards three or four miles within Cape Hinlopen to Whorekill Road, in the entrance of the Delaware Bay, where we expected to find the ſhips.

When we came to the mouth of Indian River, there was a dangerous bar to croſs, and the breakers or waves were running prodigiouſly high. The ſky was overcaſt, the night was lowering, and threatened a ſtorm. It was about dark when we approached the bar, and the breakers had really a dreadful appearance.

Every one but myſelf wiſhed to return; I promiſed, perſuaded, and intreated them to proceed, but in vain, they all were averſe to venture. However being at the helm I would not give up my place, and before they were aware of it ſteered the veſſel in the midſt of the breakers.

There was then no poſſibility of turniug back. We were compelled to ſtand on and croſs the breakers obliquely, as had we attempted to change our courſe the canoe would have been inſtantly overſet, and every ſoul of us muſt inevitably have periſhed.

By this manœuvre I got them over the bar, againſt their inclinations; but the toſſing of the veſſel cauſed moſt of them to be ſea-ſick.

It being a ſtrong ebb tide we were inadvertently carried out of ſight of land; but after ſome time

time perceiving the light in the light-houſe on the Cape, we ſteered for it.

When we had rowed about eighteen or twenty miles from Indian River, and were only three or four miles ſouth-eaſt of the light-houſe, a violent ſquall came on, from the north-weſt, with inceſſant thunder, lightning, wind, and rain.

Every one, excepting myſelf who was ſilent, unanimouſly reſolved to return and make for land; and they rowed back for the diſtance of ſeven miles with all their might before they took time to reflect, how, in that dark ſtormy night, they could diſtinguiſh the right channel over the bar again; and if we miſſed it, which was almoſt certain, the canoe muſt be daſhed to pieces by the breakers, and we could not poſſibly be ſaved from deſtruction.

This reflection ſuggeſted by me cauſed them to ſtop all on a ſudden, and they next propoſed running the veſſel on ſhore upon the beach, and carrying her acroſs it to Rehoboth Bay.

I took this opportunity of perſuading them to return in ſearch of the men of war; repreſenting the danger of landing on the beach, where, the breakers running prodigiouſly high, the canoe muſt be ſtaved before we reached the ſhore, and many of us thereby muſt be inevitably loſt. Should we even eſcape that fate, we would not all be able to carry the veſſel acroſs the beach, which was a mile and a half wide over deep ſand hills, to the bay; and that, as we muſt then land in the midſt of our enemies, they would certainly diſcover us, and the whole country of the rebels

rebels would be in purſuit of us, ſo that we could not poſſibly eſcape them.

They were then totally at a loſs what to do, as there ſeemed to be nothing but death before us on all ſides.

Taking advantage of this, I prevailed on them to attempt once more to get round to the Delaware. I cheared up their drooping ſpirits, and took an oar myſelf.

With amazing fatigue, and very great danger, we at length doubled Cape Hinlopen, and rowed all over Whorekill Road, without hearing or ſeeing any appearance of a ſhip.

The night was very dark, and it was one continued ſtorm of thunder, lightning, wind, and hail, the violence of which forced us to the ſhore; glad to get to any part of it within the Cape for ſhelter.

At three o'clock in the morning we reached land, and found ourſelves cloſe by Lewis Town, within a few hundred yards of a rebel guard; ſo that we dared not kindle a fire, or make the leaſt noiſe, leſt we ſhould thereby be diſcovered.

In this ſituation we remained upon the open beach during the reſt of the night, expoſed to the ſnow, wind, and rain.

In the mean time we ſent Captain Kollock and one of the Indians to the light-houſe, in diſguiſe, to make enquiry about the ſhips.

In about an hour they returned with an account, that two ſhips had been in the road that afternoon, that one of them had ſtood out to ſea, and the other lay at anchor, off the light-houſe, abreaſt of the Cape.

At five o'clock, juſt about break of day, we embarked again in our canoe, left this hoſtile ſhore,

ſhore, and once more launched out into the Atlantic.

About half a mile from land there came on a prodigious heavy thick fog, ſo that we could not ſee twenty yards around.

Juſt before the miſt came on I imagined that I diſcovered the looming of a ſhip at a great diſtance, and by the aſſiſtance of a ſmall pocket compaſs ſteered towards the place where ſhe ſeemed to be. Having continued that courſe for an hour, without hearing or ſeeing any thing, they all began to murmur and deſpond; our hands likewiſe were ſo bliſtered with rowing, that the blood ran down, and we were quite exhauſted with cold and fatigue. Juſt then we heard ſomething like a grampus ſpouting, and rowed with all our might towards the ſound: the noiſe was ſoon repeated, and we were then ſenſible it proceeded from ſpunging a gun: this, together with ſome chips and traſh floating on the ſea, revived our hopes, and cheered our drooping ſpirits; and ſoon afterwards the crowing of a cock put it out of doubt that a ſhip was nigh.

Some of us obſerving that it might be a rebel frigate it alarmed our fears, and we concluded, if we found it ſo, that we would paſs ourſelves for ſome people croſſing from Cape May to Lewis Town, who had got loſt in the fog, and were driven out to ſea.

In the main time all on a ſudden the ſhip appeared near enough for us to diſtinguiſh the name of PRESTON on her ſtern.

Never until this moment did I conſider myſelf out of danger; and I now felt ſuch a tide

of happineſs and joy, that it almoſt overpowered my ſenſes.

Every perſon in the ſhip was aſtoniſhed at ſeeing us; and the worthy Commodore Hotham, as well as all the officers, received us on board in the moſt hoſpitable, kind, and friendly manner; ſo that it almoſt effaced the remembrance of our diſappointment from the Falcon.

We had not been half an hour on board, when a perfect hurricane came on from the land at north-weſt. It was ſo ſudden, and ſo violent, that, before our canoe could be hoiſted on board, it tore out the iron ring-bolt from her head, forced her from the ſhip, filled her, and ſent her out of ſight in an inſtant.

It alſo drove the Preſton out to ſea; and every officer on board repeatedly congratulated us on our moſt fortunate and hair-breadth eſcape and deliverance: becauſe had we not found the ſhip, which it was really aſtoniſhing that we did in ſuch a fog, we muſt every man have inevitably periſhed, as ſhe was four or five leagues from land, and we could not have rowed one league farther before the ſtorm came on.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXIX.

Take a fine Prize. Singular Circumſtance attending the Capture. Go on board the Daphne. Excellent Regulations on Board. Affecting Story of a beautiful young Lady. Set ſail for New York with the Prize Ship in Tow. Arrival at New York. Wait upon the Admiral and General. Meet with many Friends and Acquaintances.

THIS gale, which had inſtantly diſperſed and carried off the fog, was extremely violent, and ſoon forced us out of ſight of land; but it abated towards evening, and the Daphne with the Hotham ſloop tender and two prizes came up with us.

Mr. Brown a midſhipman and I went on board the Hotham ſloop, and we all ſteered towards the Cape.

As we were all cloce hauled, we in the ſloop went conſiderably nigher the wind than the ſhips, and at break of day they were out of our ſight; but we diſcovered a fine ſhip ſtanding in for the mouth of the Delaware, to which we gave chace.

We found ourſelves gain upon her very faſt, and coming up with her juſt off Cape May, perceived her to be very handſome, large, and formidable; and we could alſo diſtinguiſh with our glaſſes the men on board drawn up with ſmall arms preparing for defence, yet ſtill ſhe ſtood on towards Cape May, where the channel is ſhallow and hazardous. But the wind dying away as ſoon as we came pretty cloſe to her, I went in

the boat with the ſailors and marines to board her.

When we approached along-ſide we ſaw eighteen men with ſmall arms juſt ready to fire into the boat, when Mr. Graves, who commanded the Hotham, obſerving it, at that very inſtant fired one of his two pounders into the ſhip amongſt them, which lucky ſhot determined her fate.

All her hands, twenty-ſix in number, immediately jumped into their boats and rowed to land, after laſhing the helm hard up in order to run the ſhip on ſhore on Cape May, being then within two hundred yards of it, where two or three hundred rebels were drawn up under arms ready to protect her when ſhe drove up. But the ſhip wearing quite round ran back into the very hands of the Hotham ſloop, which immediately boarded and took poſſeſſion of her.

Taking this prize gave us greater ſatisfaction and pleaſure, becauſe the Hotham herſelf was but a trifling ſmall ſloop of no force, carrying only two little guns, two pounders, beſides a few ſwivels.

We found on board the ſhip, eighteen new French firelocks lying upon the deck all loaded; beſides five hundred ſtand of ſmall arms in her hold, three hundred and fifty barrels of gunpowder, fifty-two tons of lead, a large quantity of ſail cloth, tents, camp equipage, medicines, books, and even all their papers, letters, and manuſcripts. A moſt valuable prize; not ſo much on account of what it would produce at ſale, as the loſs the enemy ſuſtained by the capture.

This

This ſhip was named the Sally, bound from Nantz to Philadelphia, of two hundred and thirty tons burden, a beautiful veſſel Philadelphia built.

A fine breeze ſpringing up, we immediately ſtood out to ſea with our prize, and ſoon came up with the two men of war and the other three prizes; but ours was by far the fineſt and moſt valuble.

The wind blowing very freſh, and all the veſſels lying too, I went on board of the Commodore, and ſoon after Captain Chinnery of the Daphne came on board alſo.

As the Daphne was to proceed immediately to New York with the prizes, I went on board of her along with Captain Chinnery, to whom the Commodore had introduced me, after returning my moſt grateful thanks to the worthy Commodore Hotham, and to all the officers on board the Preſton, for their attention, civilities, and favours, and after taking an affectionate farewell: theſe polite, worthy, and very reſpectable gentlemen having honoured me with the requeſt that I would keep up a correſpondence with them although that has been interrupted, I ſhall never forget their kindneſs, nor my obligations.

The officers then on board the Preſton, beſides Commodore Hotham and Captain Uppleby, were the three Captain Graves's, Captain Totty, the honourable Captain De Courcy, Captain T———, Captains Chriſtians and Hart of the marines, Dr. Steedman, chaplain, Dr. Cliffon, ſurgeon, Mr. Holwell, maſter, Mr. Titus Livius, ſecretary to the Commodore, &c. and a ſet of

more agreeable, accompliſhed and deſerving gentlemen never ſerved his Majeſty in one ſhip.

I was received and treated on board the Daphne by Captain Chinnery, Lieutenant Paul, Lieutenant Campbell of Marines, &c. with equal attention and kindneſs to what I had met with on board the Preſton; but a conſtant and ſevere indiſpoſition deſtroyed all reliſh for pleaſure, and deprived me of that exquiſite joy and ſatisfaction, which otherwiſe I ſhould have felt at my fortunate eſcape out of the power of an illiberal, vindictive, and barbarous enemy.

To my very great concern I perceived that my conſtitution was quite broken, and this bad ſtate of health occaſioned, by long and rigorous confinement among the rebels, and by the hardſhips of every kind I had experienced in different attempts to eſcape; eſpecially in the laſt cold, wet, and ſtormy night, before we got on board the Preſton.

This indiſpoſion, which had been conſtantly increaſing upon me for eighteen months paſt, was now become ſo extremely ſevere that I really did not expect long to ſurvive it.

Had it not been for this ſickneſs I ſhould have been exceedingly happy indeed on board the Daphne, for Captain Chinnery was one of the beſt of men, and his ſhip was under the moſt excellent regulations. Both whipping and ſwearing were ſtrangers on board, and every one obeyed the commands of his ſuperior with an alacrity and chearfulneſs that made their duty a pleaſure, and rendered the ſervice endearing.

To meet with a lady, young, handſome, and graceful, on board the Daphne out at ſea, it may well be imagined occaſioned to me no ſmall ſurprize.

As

As the ſhort but melancholy ſtory of this unfortunate young perſon is uncommonly affecting, I cannot forbear relating it, as one of the multitude of ſhocking inſtances of barbarous brutality that ſo frequently occur in the country which is the ſeat of war; in order that the people of Great Britain may be ſenſible of their good fortune and felicity, in being ſo long, and ſo far, from the obſervation and experience of ſuch lamentable and wretched ſcenes.

This unfortunate lady deſcended from a good family in New Jerſey, was married while very young to an American officer, who was daſtard enough to abandon her at Fort Waſhington in York Iſland, where ſhe was taken in the powder magazine by a private ſoldier of the Heſſians.

This unfeeling wretch, deaf to all her prayers and entreaties to be reſtored to her friends, and blind to her beauty and tears, only as they inflamed his luſt, retained her as his abſolute property, and compelled her to be ſubſervient to all his brutal deſires and drudgery.

None but a ruffian, deſtitute of ſenſibility and common humanity, could have been capable of ſuch barbarity to a moſt beautiful and delicate young creature, not then fifteen, whoſe tears, entreaties, and diſtreſs would have procured protection and aſſiſtance from a ſavage.

The Heſſian finding his captive unfit for his principal purpoſe, viz. carrying his plunder, and having ſufficiently gratified all his deſires with her, actually ſold her to a Britiſh officer, while upon the march to New York, for a ſhilling.

This officer being made acquainted with her diſtreſs and cruel treatment, not only gave her her liberty, but ſent her to New York to his quarters, and ſupported her decently therein.

This worthy man being ſlain in a ſkirmiſh, the poor unhappy young lady was thrown upon the wide world, deſtitute of friends, money, cloaths, and almoſt of the common neceſſaries for the ſuſtenance of life.

In this deplorable condition ſhe was truly to be commiſerated, and fell a victim to the avarice and iniquity of one of thoſe, I had almoſt ſaid beaſts of prey, of her own ſex, that always contrive to make a property of unfortunate beauty.

It was in this ſituation that ſhe had come on board the Daphne on a viſit; and the ſhip being ordered out immediately on a cruiſe, ſhe was carried to ſea without the knowledge of Captain Chinnery.

This lady was named Sukey *Waſhington*, after the fort wherein ſhe was taken, and by that ſhe is pretty well known in New York.

But I am apprehenſive there have been many more ſuch inſtances of misfortune and brutality, although the unhappy victims have not become ſo public.

On the fifteenth of March about noon, we took the prize ſhip in tow, and ſteered our courſe for New York, with a ſtiff breeze; having made an obſervation this day, and found ourſelves in thirty-eight thirty degrees minutes north latitude; the

the longitude was ſeventy-four degrees fifteen minutes weſt.

The wind continuing to blow freſh and fair, we came in ſight of Never-Sink Hills (the firſt high land on the American coaſt to the northward of Cape Florida,) on the morning following about nine o'clock; and ſoon afterwards arrived off Sandy-Hook and the light houſe, within which we came to anchor, with all our prizes ſafe, and remained there that night.

On the day following the Daphne beat up to New York, the wind being a-head, and anchored in the North River.

On the eighteenth I went on ſhore, where I found Caleb Jones, of Princeſs Anne, Somerſet county, Maryland, Eſq. who had arrived at New York before me in the Brune frigate, from the Cheſapeak.

At New York I immediately waited on Lord Howe, and Sir William Howe, then his majeſty's Commanders in Chief, &c. and had the pleaſure of meeting with Brigadier-general Mac Donald, Captain Campbell, and ſeveral more of my much eſteemed friends; who, after the mutual congratulations on our being ſo fortunate, contrary to every former expectation and probability, as to meet together once more in the much prized enjoyment of liberty and real freedom, under the mild and benign influence of Britiſh government, and in the protection of his majeſty's arms, after the unexampled hardſhips, ſeverities, and cruel maltreatment we had all experienced from a rude, illiberal, and barbarous enemy, continu-

ed in honouring me with every attention, civility, and kindneſs, until our duty in the different lines and ſcenes of action in his majeſty's ſervice interrupted this agreeable intercourſe of friendſhip by ſeparation, being ordered to different and very diſtant parts of the vaſt continent of America.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXX.

Visit the British Posts and the Works thrown up by the Americans. Danbury Expedition. New England. Account of the Country, Inhabitants, &c. Their Inhospitality and Inquisitiveness. Connecticut River. Hartford. New Haven. Number of Inhabitants in Connecticut, Rhode Island, Massachusetts Bay and New Hampshire. Newport. Providence. Boston. Salem. Portsmouth.

NOTWITHSTANDING the continuance of my bad state of health, I immediately visited all the posts in the vicinity of New York occupied by the British troops, and viewed the multitude of works, all over the island, thrown up by the rebels, which will remain lasting monuments of American folly and fearfulness, notwithstanding they have so unexpectedly, even to themselves, succeeded in their wild and fatal pursuits, far beyond their most sanguine and presumptuous hopes.

Contrary to the advice of all my friends I also accompanied an expedition to Danbury in Connecticut, where we destroyed a great quantity of stores, &c. collected by the rebels, and deposited there as in a place of absolute security.

But as the particulars of this excursion, as well as of all the other expeditions, campaigns, engagements and skirmishes in which I had the honour of serving his majesty during the war, will be given in the regular chain of events as they occurred, in a separate volume or appendix, I shall pass it over here, and only mention the

the appearance of the country, and the inhabitants, to a perſon totally a ſtranger and unacquainted with them.

However from the very diſadvantageous occurrences and events attending my viſit to that province, during the circumſcribed diſtance and ſtay I made therein, this account muſt unavoidably be incorrect, curſory, and ſuperficial, and cannot be placed in competition with that already given of the more ſouthern provinces, through which I had very often travelled under more agreeable and favourable circumſtances, and had frequent and ample opportunities of becoming much more intimately acquainted with their inhabitants, cuſtoms, diſpoſitions, ſentiments, commerce, produce, agriculture, and ſoil, as well as the appearance of the country, the beauties of the perſpective, and the extent of the rivers and ſettlements.

The whole face of nature, as well as the manners and dialect of the people here are widely different from that of the ſouthern provinces, and greatly to the diſadvantage of New England.

The land in general is broken, poor, and ſtoney, excepting on the banks of the rivers, where there is a narrow ſlip of rich low grounds on each ſide, commonly converted into meadows.

The timber is inferior in magnitude and height, the Indian corn itſelf is of a diminutive growth, and every other produce of a worſe quality, as well as leſs in quantity.

The inhabitants too are poſſeſſed of narrow principles, bigoted and illiberal. Almoſt univerſally

verſally fanatics in religion, their manners, cuſtoms, and opinions are ſtrongly tinctured with puritaniſm, their ſentiments confined, and their benevolence of mind extremely limited.

At the ſame time that they are deſtitute of that hoſpitality, and generous openneſs of heart, ſo prevalent in the ſouthern provinces, they ſuperabound in impertinent curioſity, and troubleſome inquiſitiveneſs. A ſtranger may travel in New England many a day without being once aſked to eat or drink; but he cannot call at any houſe whatever without being required to give an account of himſelf by every perſon therein, and indeed frequently by thoſe that may overtake him as he rides along the road. They will deſire to know "Whence he came? Where he "is going? What his buſineſs is there? How "long he intends to ſtay? Whether he will re-"turn that way? Likewiſe his name, eſtate, "family, ſituation in life, general opinions, and "future intentions?"

But on Sundays he muſt not travel at all, not even to change his inn for the ſake of better accommodations.

Property in this country is very much divided, and even ſubdivided; ſo that you will ſeldom ſee a conſiderable farm, although almoſt every houſe or family in the towns or townſhips have a few acres annexed to them, yet theſe ſmall portions of land are by no means cultivated to the beſt advantage as might be expected, for agriculture here is ſtill in its infancy, and not equal to the ſtate thereof in any of the reſt of the provinces.

Excepting Boſton, Newport, and a very few others, the towns in general are no better than ſtraggling villages, yet theſe undoubtedly are numerous

numerous, conſidering the inferiority of the ſoil as well as climate.

However it muſt not be imagined but that there are ſome tracts of good land, as well as a few hoſpitable people to be met with, throughout the whole four of theſe wide extended and thick ſettled provinces of New England: it would be a very ſtrange thing indeed if it was not ſo; but certain it is, that the generality of the inhabitants, and bulk of the land is far otherwiſe.

The New Englanders are diſliked by the inhabitants of all the other provinces, by whom they are called *Yankeys*, by way of deriſion, and they ſeem to return a ſimilar kind and degree of affection towards all the reſt; yet at the ſame time appear to acknowledge a kind of an inferiority, for they actually depend upon the ſouthern provinces for the principal part of the bread they eat; and for that purpoſe every winter their ſloops, ſchooners and ſmall veſſels are ſwarming in all the ports and rivers ſouth of New York, where they purchaſe Indian corn and other grain; for which in return they give rum of an inferior quality, molaſſes, cordials, dried fiſh, and all kinds of European goods but always of the worſt and cheapeſt kinds.

In fact they are the Dutch of America; and have engroſſed the ſame ſhare of commerce there, as the others have done in Europe; deriving their ſubſiſtence alſo in a ſimilar manner from fiſhing and trade.

In the fiſhing ſeaſon they repair to the banks of Newfoundland, where they ſeldom fail of loading their veſſels; and the reſt of the year they

they trade to the ſouthern provinces, the Weſt Indies, and even to Europe.

In theſe fiſhing as well as trading voyages it is their general cuſtom for every man in the veſſel to have ſome concern or ſhare in the cargo, and conſequently in the profits of the trade.

Although New England abounds with excellent harbours for ſmall veſſels, yet there is no conſiderable river in all the four provinces, excepting Connecticut River in the province of that name, and Merrymack River, Sagahadock River, Kenebeck River, and Penobſcot River, in New Hampſhire.

Of all theſe, Connecticut River is much the fineſt, largeſt, and moſt valuable, as well as the beſt ſettled and the longeſt; being about three hundred miles from its ſource, not far diſtant from lake St. Pierre in the river of St. Laurence in Canada where it interlocks with the head branches of the river St. Francis, to the mouth between the inconſiderable villages of Saybrook and Lyme in the Sound which ſeparates Long Iſland from the Continent.

This river is navigable for ſmall craft as far as the town of Hartford, which is about thirty-five miles from its entrance into the Sound.

The courſe of the Connecticut, from its ſource being nearly ſouth-by-weſt to its mouth, includes ſeveral degrees latitude, viz. from forty-five degrees twenty minutes to forty-one degrees fifteen minutes north.

In the exaggerated calculation of the number of inhabitants publiſhed by the Congreſs, the province of Connecticut was ſaid to contain one hundred and ninety-two thouſand; the province of Rhode Iſland fifty-nine thouſand ſix hundred.

hundred and ſeventy-eight; the province of Maſſachuſet's Bay four hundred thouſand; and the province of New Hampſhire one hundred and fifty thouſand; being altogether eight hundred and one thouſand ſix hundred and ſeventy-eight.

This undoubtedly is very conſiderably beyond the truth; for in the laſt actual numbering of all the inhabitants in the United States of America, by order of Congreſs, for proportioning the aſſeſſment for taxes, in 1783, Connecticut contained two hundred and ſix thouſand; Rhode Iſland fifty thouſand four hundred; Maſſachuſets Bay three hundred and fifty thouſand; and New Hampſhire eighty-two thouſand two hundred; amounting to ſix hundred and eighty-eight thouſand ſix hundred ſouls in all the four New England governments, of which about one twentieth part are Negroes and civilized Indians.

The capital of Connecticut is Hartford, but the towns of New London and Newhaven are certainly more conſiderable than it; the reſt of the towns, as has been obſerved before, are nothing better than ſcattering villages, yet many of them containing a number of inhabitants nearly equal to thoſe of the towns above mentioned.

Of the government of Rhode Iſland, Newport is the capital, and is a large and very beautiful town, with an excellent harbour. Excepting Providence, which is alſo a conſiderable town, there is none elſe of note in this province.

Boſton, the capital of Maſſachuſets Bay, is one of the largeſt, moſt populous, and fineſt cities in North America; poſſeſſing an excellent harbour, and a multitude of delightful perſpective views from every ſide.

Salem

Salem in this province is the next in magnitude to Boſton, and the reſt of the towns are ſimilar to thoſe of Connecticut, but conſiderably larger.

New Hampſhire is ſtill in its infancy, and its capital Porſmouth is but a ſmall inſignificant place, not near ſo conſiderable as many of the towns in the other provinces which have not been thought ſufficiently deſerving of notice even to be named here.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXI.

Deſcription of New York. Its delightful and advantageous Situation. Fort Waſhington. Long Iſland. Deſcription of it. Hell Gates, a dreadful and dangerous Strait. Deſcription thereof. Hampſtead Plains. An Account of them. A very ſingular Inſect. Dangerous Sand Banks. Loſs of the Liverpool. Deſcription of Staten Iſland. Account of the North River. Mohawks River, and Hudſon's River. Albany. Trade of New York. Fire. Dutch Inhabitants. Number of Souls in the Province.

HAVING made many excurſions over the greateſt part of Long Iſland, as well as Staten Iſland, York Iſland, and Weſt Cheſter County on the continent, in the government of New York, I ſhall embrace this opportunity of giving a ſketch of theſe places, in a manner that has not been generally deſcribed.

The city of New York, the capital of the province, is beautifully ſituated on the ſouthern extremity of an iſland of the ſame name, which is about ſixteen miles in length, and not more than three miles wide in the broadeſt part.

This iſland being a county in itſelf named after the capital, is formed by the Hudſon or North River on the weſt; the Eaſt River, which is the name of the narroweſt extremity of the Sound, or arm of the ſea, that ſeparates Long Iſland from the Continent, on the ſouth-eaſt; and a ſmall branch or natural canal named Haerlem River, King's-Bridge River,

or

or Spiking Devil, on the north, which communicates between the North River, and the Eaſt River, near a place on the laſt mentioned River named Hell Gates.

Nothing can be more delightful than the ſituation of New York, commanding a variety of the moſt charming proſpects that can be conceived.

It is built chiefly upon the Eaſt River, which is the beſt and ſafeſt harbour and is only ſomething more than half a mile wide.

The North River is better than two miles over to Powles Hook, which is a ſtrong work oppoſite to New York, is expoſed to the north winds, and to the driving of the ice in the winter, whereby ſhips are prevented from lying therein during that ſeaſon of the year.

The land on the North River ſide is high and bold, but on the Eaſt River it gradually deſcends in a beautiful declivity to the water's edge.

The town is entirely commanded by a conſiderable eminence in Long Iſland, directly oppoſite to it, named Brookland Heights, on which a ſtrong regular fort, with four baſtions, has lately been erected by the Britiſh troops.

About a third and it is ſaid the moſt beautiful part of this town has been deſtroyed by a fire, which happened ſoon after it was taken poſſeſſion of by his Majeſty's forces: and it is beyond a doubt, that this moſt iniquitous and abominable action was committed by the American incendiaries, ſeveral of whom were detected in the infamous fact of ſetting fire to combuſtibles

combuſtibles purpoſely placed in the houſes, and immediately were thrown into the flames by the enraged ſoldiery.

This city, while in poſſeſſion of the Britiſh troops, might contain about thirty thouſand ſouls, but the numbers muſt be diminiſhed at leaſt one-third, perhaps one-half, or more, by the evacuation.

There is a great number of moſt delightful ſituations in the vicinity of New York, which is really a very beautiful country.

The harbour eſpecially the Eaſt River, is one of the beſt in the world, being ſheltered from every wind, having excellent anchoring ground, and ſufficient depth of water for ſhips of the line, which could almoſt lay their broad ſides to the wharfs.

To deſcribe the works thrown up by the Americans upon this iſland would take up more room than this volume can afford, or the ſubject deſerves, as they actually cover the whole iſland.

Two only I ſhall take notice of, viz. a ſtrong work on an eminence, juſt at the entrance into the town from the land which is named Bunker's-hill; the other is Fort Waſhington; or Kniphauſen, on the North River, whoſe banks are every where very high and particularly ſo at this place, juſt ten miles north from New York.

The ſituation of this fort is ſingularly ſtrong and advantageous, ſo as to be capable of being rendered almoſt impregnable; but all this country abounds with ſtrong and commanding ſituations.

King's-

King's-Bridge which joins the northern extremity of this iſland to the continent, is only a ſmall wooden bridge, and the country around is mountainous, rocky, broken, and diſagreeable, but very ſtrong.

Amongſt the multitude of elegant ſeats upon this iſland there are three or four uncommonly beautiful, viz. Governor Elliot's, Judge Jones's Squire Morris's, and Mr. Bateman's.

And oppoſite upon the Continent, juſt above Hell-gates, there is a villa, named Morriſania, which is inferior to no place in the world for the beauties, grandeur, and extent of perſpective, and the elegance of its ſituation.

New York is juſt thirty miles north from the ſea, which is at Sandy Hook; and there is no place in the world that enjoys the advantages of every kind peculiar to the fineſt navigable rivers more amply than New York.

The land in the country adjacent is ſtrong, ſtiff, rocky, and broken, the incloſures being generally made of ſtone.

Long Iſland, which is in this government, is the largeſt iſland from Cape Florida to Cape Sable, and is indeed a very fine and moſt valuable one. It is an hundred and thirty miles in length, and about fifteen miles broad at a medium, extending from oppoſite Staten Iſland, and Sandy Hook in the Jerſeys, to Montock Point, which is oppoſite to the boundary line between Connecticut and Rhode Iſland.

All the ſouth-eaſt ſide of Long Iſland, or as it is called therein the ſouth ſide, next to the Atlantic Ocean, is low, level, ſandy, and infertile, having extenſive bays running within the land

land almoſt the whole length of the iſland. The north-weſt ſide, or as it is there called the North ſide, next to the Continent, is high, hilly, and broken, with numbers of fine harbours, creeks, and bays, and abundance of excellent ſituations, and rich land. Through the middle of the iſland length-ways, there runs a chain of high hills, which command a view of the ocean, and a great variety of the moſt delightful and extenſive proſpects.

Two-thirds of the inhabitants of this iſland, eſpecially on the weſt end, are of low Dutch extraction, and continue to make uſe of their cuſtoms and language in preference to Engliſh, which however they alſo underſtand.

But they differ materially from the Hollanders in the article of cleanlineſs, thoſe in Long Iſland being not only conſtantly inveloped in dirt and naſtineſs, but their houſes and food are often rendered almoſt intolerable with filth and uncleanneſs.

There is no ſuch thing as ſociety amongſt theſe people, at leaſt for a Briton, for they and their conſtant companions the hogs and cattle appear to poſſeſs an equal ſhare of ſenſibility and ſentiment. Many of them however are opulent, and they all live well, or rather plentifully.

In the whole province of New York there are fourteen counties; of which there are in Long Iſland, viz. King's County, Queen's County, and Suffolk County. The two firſt are in the weſt end of the iſland, and the laſt includes all the middle and eaſt end, being above half the iſland.

The

The inhabitants of King's County are almoſt entirely Dutch. In Queen's County four fifths, of the people are ſo likewiſe; but the other fifth, and all Suffolk County are Engliſh, as they call themſelves, being from Engliſh anceſtors, and uſing no other language.

The towns in this iſland, as upon the continent in New England, are little better than ſcattering villages, and the manner of living of the inhabitants is pretty much ſimilar, but deſtitute of that degree of illiberality and narrow-mindedneſs, which proceeds from the fanaticiſm of the New Englanders; for in Long Iſland there is ſome ſmall ſhare of hoſpitality, and ſometimes indeed of generoſity, to be met with. This however is much more prevalent among the Engliſh inhabitants than among the Dutch.

Although conſiderable numbers of the inhabitants of this iſland have acquired much money during the late war, yet many more have been moſt cruelly oppreſſed, and vaſt numbers of them repeatedly plundered by the depredations of both ſides.

Such ſhocking inſtances of barbarous brutality have frequently occurred in different parts of Long Iſland, during this unfortunate conflict, that the bare recollection of them is painful in the extreme, therefore a relation of them could not be acceptable.

There are two very extraordinary places in and adjoining to this iſland, the like of which are not to be met with in all America beſides, and are well deſerving of the obſervation of travellers.

The firſt is a very dangerous and dreadful ſtrait or paſſage, called *Hell-Gates*, between the

Eaſt

Eaſt river and the ſound; where the two tides meeting cauſe a horrible whirlpool, the vortex of which is named the Pot, and drawing in and ſwallowing up every thing that approaches near it, daſhes them to pieces upon the rocks at the bottom; at one time of tide this tremendous whirpool boils furiouſly like a pot, and at another time it ſucks like a funnel every thing into it.

Oppoſite to this is another dreadful reef of rocks, named the Frying Pan, over which the tide rages with great violence, making a noiſe reſembling water poured upon red-hot iron; this alſo draws veſſels towards it, to their certain and utter deſtruction.

In an oblique direction between theſe two, there lies another ſharp ledge of rocks, as dangerous as either of the former, named the Hog's Back, which proves fatal to as many veſſels as any of the others.

It requires the greateſt ſkill and care imaginable to pilot ſhips through this moſt dreadful and dangerous ſtrait, and there is ſcarce a tide paſſes but ſome veſſel is daſhed upon the rocks; for in endeavouring to avoid the Pot, they frequently are carried directly upon the Frying Pan; and if a veſſel is ſo fortunate as to paſs clear of both theſe, ſhe has ſtill the utmoſt difficulty to avoid being wrecked upon the Hog's Back, which lies almoſt in the middle of the narrow channel between the others.

The tide here likewiſe ruſhes on with an impetuoſity and fury dreadful to behold, and both ſhores, as well as the whole bed and channel of the ſtrait, conſiſt of vaſt, horrible, dark brown rocks,

rocks, with ſharp edges pointed in every direction, and are generally covered with wrecks.

The ſafeſt time for paſſing through this moſt perilous and horrid Strait is at high water with a ſtiff breeze; yet even at this time a ſkilful pilot is abſolutely neceſſary, in order to avoid the ſharp ledges and reefs of rocks, then juſt ſufficiently covered with water to render them the more dangerous.

Before the late war, a top-ſail veſſel was ſeldom ever known to paſs through Hell Gates; but ſince the commencement of it, fleets of tranſports, with frigates for their convoy, have frequently ventured and accompliſhed it: the Niger indeed, a very fine frigate of thirty-two guns, generally ſtruck on ſome hidden rock, every time ſhe attempted this paſſage.

But what is ſtill more extraordinary, that daring veteran, Sir James Wallace, to the aſtoniſhment of every perſon who ever ſaw or heard of it, carried his Majeſty's ſhip the Experiment, of fifty guns, ſafe through Hell Gates, from the eaſt end of the Sound to New York; when the French fleet under D'Eſtaing lay off Sandy Hook, and blocked up the harbour and city of New York, ſome ſhips of the line being alſo ſent by D'Eſtaing round the eaſt end of Long Iſland to cruize in the ſound for the ſame purpoſe. So that the Experiment muſt inevitably have fallen into their hands, had it not been for this bold and ſucceſsful attempt of her gallant commander.

The other remarkable place is Hampſtead Plains, which begin about fourteen or fifteen miles from New York, and including what is called the Bruſhy Plains, extend near twenty

miles in length, and from three to eight miles in breadth.

Theſe plains are perfectly level, and deſtitute of timber, not a tree growing upon them throughout their whole extent, which in America is a very ſtriking and ſingular phænomenon.

They are ſaid to be incapable of producing either trees, or any other growth or vegetation, excepting graſs of a coarſe and inferior quality; only about half of them, which are named the Bruſhy Plains, is covered with a production of bruſh or ſhrubs, extremely thick and low, being not more than about three, four, and five feet in height above the ſurface of the ground, and never grows higher.

The ſoil of theſe plains conſiſts of a thin covering of a moſſy kind of black earth, of a ſpungy contexture, over an univerſal bed of gravel, which immediately abſorbs the heavieſt rains, and prevents water from remaining upon the ground. From this it may be naturally and readily concluded, that in wet ſeaſons they throw out great quantities of graſs, and conſequently in dry years they are entirely parched up.

Theſe plains are a kind of common, and ſupport an immenſe number of ſheep, black cattle, and horſes, which are ſupplied with water from ponds made in different places and the bottom covered with clay to collect and retain the rain; for there are no ſprings or running water to be met with throughout their whole extent; and they are entirely unencloſed, and almoſt totally uninhabited, excepting ſome few houſes for the accommodation of travellers.

Their great extent, and the perfect equality of their ſurface, renders the appearance of the horizon

horizon around, to a perſon travelling over them, very much reſembling that to be obſerved at ſea; and in the ſame manner the inhabitants bordering on theſe extenſive plains direct a perſon, enquiring the way to any particular place, to proceed ſouth, ſouth-weſt, eaſt, or north-eaſt, or ſome other point of the compaſs, according to the ſituation of the ſpot to which he is going.

On the north ſide of theſe plains the ground begins to ſwell into aſcents, and even little hills, the ſoil being ſtiff, ſtrong, and ſtony. On the ſouth ſide the land is perfectly level, ſandy, and rather poor.

Around the edge of Hampſtead, or the Great Plains, beſides the towns or townſhips of Jamaica, Hampſtead, &c. the places have ſingular names, ſelected from the ſcripture it is true, but ſtill very uncommon, ſuch as Jeruſalem, Jericho, Barſheba, Bethſaida, &c. where the inhabitants are chiefly Quakers. And in the weſt end of the iſland the firſt Dutch ſettlers named their villages after the different towns in the United Provinces in Europe from whence they came, as Fluſhing, Brooklyn, Wolabacht, Haaerlem, &c.

There is a very ſingular inſect in this iſland, which I do not remember to have obſerved in any other part of America. They are named by the inhabitants here *Katy did's* from their note, which is loud and ſtrong, bearing a ſtriking reſemblence to thoſe words.

They are from an inch to an inch and three quarters in length, of a moſt beautiful vivid green, as thick as a lady's finger, with two large and almoſt tranſparent wings: they are perfectly inoffenſive, but extremely clamorous and noiſy:

they generally appear about the middle of ſummer, in great numbers, and fix their reſidence among the leaves and ſmall branches of young lively fruit trees, but the cherry is their favourite, and their green colour renders them diſcovered with great difficulty; but their noiſe is loud and inceſſant, one perpetually and regularly anſwering the other in notes exactly ſimilar to the words *Katy did*, or *Katy Katy did*, repeated by one, and another immediately bawls out *Katy did'n't*, or *Katy Katy did'n't*. In this loud clamour they continue without ceaſing until the fall of the leaf, when they totally diſappear.

The whole ſouth-eaſt coaſt of Long Iſland is particularly dangerous for ſhipping; being deſtitute of a ſingle harbour for any thing but boats and very ſmall coaſting veſſels, throughout its whole extent. At the ſame time there are a great many very fine bays and harbours on the north ſide of the iſland.

On the ſouth ſide, ſand banks and bars prevent ſhips from approaching within two miles of the ſhore: this, together with the great extent of the inland bays all along this coaſt, which are generally from five to ten miles wide within the beech that ſeparates them from the Atlantic Ocean, whereby the appearance of the land, which is naturally low, is thus alſo rendered very diſtant, and the prodigious ſeas that run along this open coaſt, renders all this ſide extremely dangerous, eſpecially in the night when the wind ſets violently on ſhore, and the ſhips have not previouſly made the land in the day.

This occaſioned the loſs of his Majeſty's ſhip the Liverpool, the remains of which are ſtill to be

be ſeen on Rockaway Beech, ſo cloſe to the ſhore as great part of her to be dry at low water.

From the weſt end of Long Iſland I paſſed over, at what is called the Narrows, to Staten Iſland, which is about three miles from the neareſt part of Long Iſland, and nine miles due ſouth from New York.

This iſland belongs to the government of New York, and contains juſt one county named Richmond. It is ſixteen miles long, and between eight and eleven in breadth. Like Long Iſland, the north ſide of this alſo is high land, broken and ſtoney, while the ſouth ſide is low and level. The ſoil is more light, and not ſo fertile as upon Long Iſland.

On Staten Iſland there is but one town, which is named Richmond, and it is the county town and principal place on the iſland. At the Narrows, next to Long Iſland, the land is very high, and commands an extenſive view of land and water, and very beautiful proſpects.

This being the place of reſidence of my poor old fellow-priſoner Abraham Wynant, whom I left dangerouſly ill in Baltimore when I effected my eſcape, I called at his houſe to make enquires concerning him; and greatly to my ſurprize and ſatisfaction found him there himſelf, where he had arrived long before I had got on board the Preſton.

He informed me that he was indebted to the people of Baltimore for his liberation, who had exerted themſelves in his behalf for that purpoſe, on account of his ill ſtate of health, and quite inoffenſive conduct.

Poor Wynant was happy beyond meaſure at ſeeing me, having underſtood that I had been killed during my eſcape.

The North or Hudſon's River is the boundary between the government of New York and that of New Jerſey until it reaches a large bay formed therein named Topham Sea, about thirty miles above the city of New York. The boundary line of the province of New York then croſſes the river, and runs in a north-weſt courſe, until it touches the river Viſkill, or the upper part of the eaſtern branch of the Delaware.

The land upon the North River is of various qualities, but generally ſtony, ſtiff, and ſtrong, excepting in the high lands, or mountains, where it is rocky and barren.

Beyond Albany, upon the Mohawks River, the land is in general very rich and fertile, but the country is chiefly inhabited by Germans, and the climate extremely incommoded with cold during the winter, which is there long and rigorous.

The ſhores of the North River are entirely different from any other on the continent, being remarkably high, bold, and even mountainous, to the water's edge, in general as far up as the high lands or mountains, at Weſt Point, through which this noble river paſſes, above fifty-five miles above the city of New York. Beyond the high lands there are large bodies of very valuable low grounds on each ſide.

This noble and mighty river is navigable as far as Albany, which is an hundred and ſixty miles above New York, and the tide flows about ten or fifteen miles ſtill higher, to the confluence of the river Mohawk with the Hudſon, which are the two great branches of the North River.

By

By the Mohawks River, which heads near Lake Oneyda, there is a communication with Lake Ontario and Canada, only a few portages intervening. On this river is a large cataract, called the Cohoes, the water of which is said to fall seventy feet perpendicular, where the river is a quarter of a mile in breadth.

By the Hudson's River, which is the northern branch, there is an immediate and ready communication, through Lake George, Lake Champlain, and down the Sorel and St Laurence rivers, into the heart of Canada, which is the shortest, best, and most generally made use of.

The source of the Hudson is not far distant from the Cadarakui or St. Laurence, and interlocks with the head waters of a small branch thereof named Swegatchi River, from whence to the entrance of the North River into the ocean at Sandy Hook is not less than three hundred miles in a direct course, of which this noble, grand, and beautiful river is navigable almost two hundred miles, the tide also flowing nearly that distance within it.

Albany is a large and very fine town, being the second in the province, and contains near six thousand inhabitants. Excepting Montreal in Canada, and Augusta in Georgia, Albany possesses the greatest share of the Indian trade of any place on the continent. All the rest of the towns in this province are actually nothing better than scattering villages.

Before the late unhappy war the trade of New York was very considerable. Their commodities were wheat, flour, barley, oats, some Indian corn, beef, pork, skins and furs. Their exports then annually amounted to five hundred

and thirty thouſand pounds ſterling, and their imports from Great Britain to five hundred and thirty-five thouſand pounds.

In the firſt computation of the number of inhabitants, publiſhed by the Congreſs, this government was ſaid to contain two hundred and fifty thouſand: this was undoubtedly exaggerated about fifty thouſand, as is aſcertained by their laſt enumeration, in 1783, for the purpoſe of proportioning an equal aſſeſſment of taxes, when the number of ſouls was then calculated at two hundred thouſand, of which number about one third may be Negroes.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXII.

New Jerſey. Deſcription of it. Perth-Amboy. Burlington. Prince Town, &c. Produce ſhipped from New York and Philadelphia. Different Towns in New Jerſey. Remarkable Cataract. This Province has ſuffered greatly during the War.

THE only province now remaining to be noticed is New Jerſey: of this likewiſe I am enabled to give but a ſuperficial account, obtained and collected during ſeveral excurſions and expeditions therein along with detachments of the Britiſh army, both from New York, Staten Iſland, Perth Amboy, and Brunſwick, and from Philadelphia and the Delaware, in which I had the honour of a command; as well as in the march of the grand army, acroſs that country, from Philadelphia to Sandy Hook and New York.

The inferior province of New Jerſey ſtands in the ſame predicament with its two powerful neighbours of Penſylvania and New York, as North Carolina does with South Carolina and Virginia. For a great proportion of the produce of New Jerſey is exported from the cities of Philadelphia and New York, to which places it is carried to market.

Perth Amboy, the capital of Eaſt New Jerſey, and Burlington upon the Delaware, the capital of Weſt New Jerſey, juſt began to emerge from obſcurity, and to reap ſome of the advantages which they might have obtained earlier, from

the proper management of ſo fine ſituations: for as the people of New Jerſey had been accuſtomed to ſend their produce to the markets of New York and Philadelphia, to which they are contiguous, they find it hard, as it always is in ſuch caſes, to draw the trade out of the old channel; for there the correſpondences were fixed, the method of dealing eſtabliſhed, credit given, and a ready market for needy dealers, who in all countries are ſufficiently numerous; ſo that the trade of Perth Amboy, which is the more conſiderable of the two, is ſtill ſcarcely worth notice.

Perth Amboy is delightfully ſituated upon a fine bay at the mouth of the Rariton River, contains near two hundred houſes, and has a moſt excellent harbour. The land about this place is high, the ſoil ſtiff and ſtrong, and the country in general extremely pleaſant. But this town, as well as Brunſwick, Prince Town, Newark, Elizabeth Town, Bergen, Woodbridge, &c. have ſuffered extremely by the ravages of the war.

In Eaſt New Jerſey there are only five counties, viz. Monmouth, Middleſex, Somerſet, Eſſex, and Bergen. But in Weſt New Jerſey there are eight counties, viz. Cape May, Cumberland, Salem, Glouceſter, Burlington, Hunterdon, Suſſex, and Morris. Of theſe Burlington is the capital, which is very pleaſantly ſituated on the banks of the Delaware, about eighteen miles above Philadelphia; although it is only an inſignificant place, being inferior in every reſpect even to Perth Amboy.

The adjacent villages, or, as they are all denominated

nominated in America, towns, of Borden Town, Trenton, and Mount Holly, are ſcarcely inferior to Burlington itſelf, and the towns of Freehold and Shrewſbury in Monmouth county, as well as Greenwich, Salem, Morris Town, &c. are likewiſe equal to the capital.

At Prince Town there is a college, which is in a very flouriſhing condition, and at this time is one of the beſt in America. It was eſtabliſhed by Governor Belcher in 1746, and has a power of conferring the ſame degrees as Oxford or Cambridge.

The ſouthward part of this province and the eaſtward part of it alſo, as far as Shrewſbury River, is low, flat, level, and ſandy, exactly reſembling the lower part of North Carolina, Virginia, &c. already deſcribed, from which this part of New Jerſey ſcarcely differs in any one article, excepting the inferiority of the ſoil.

There are alſo inland bays, all along the coaſt, from Cape May at the mouth of Delaware Bay, to Shrewſbury River a little diſtance to the ſouthward from Sandy Hook, which communicate with each other for the greater part of the way.

The high lands in this province begin at Never-Sink hills, upon the coaſt, which are the firſt and only appearance of the kind from Cape Florida to Montock Point, and at Ancocus River on the Delaware ſide, to the northward of which the whole country is hilly, broken, and mountainous, with a ſtrong, ſtiff, ſtony ſoil.

Among theſe eminences there are ſeveral very ſtrong and commanding, viz. the heights above Mount Holly near Burlington, and the heights of

of Middle Town near Sandy Hook, both of which were occupied by the Britiſh troops in their march from Philadelphia to New York; and the Short Hills or the mountains near Morris Town on which Waſhington formed his ſtrong camp his conſtant place of refuge and retreat in the Jerſeys; beſides Fort Lee on the cliffs of the North River, oppoſite to Fort Waſhington; and a multitude of others not rendered remarkable.

The rivers in this province are too inſignificant to merit any particular deſcription. Their names are the Rariton, which is the principal, Shrewſbury River, Squan River, Meltcunk River, Monro's River, Ferke's River, Mullicus River, Great Egg River, Maurice River, Salem River, Ancocus River, Muſcanctcunk River, Pegue's River, Tochookanctcunk River, Raway River, Hackinſack River, and Paſſaick River; on the latter of which is a remarkable cataract; the height of the rock from which the water falls is ſaid to be about ſeventy feet perpendicular, and the river there eighty yards wide.

The commodities of New Jerſey are bread, flour, wheat and other grain, beef, pork, butter, hams, cyder, flax, hemp, flax ſeed, bar iron, and lumber.

It is altogether impoſſible to aſcertain the annual value of the exports of this province, as much the largeſt proportion of the produce is carried to the adjacent markets of New York and Philadelphia, from whence they likewiſe draw the greateſt part of their imports every year.

This province has ſuffered extremely by the war, much more in proportion than any other; and it muſt be many years before it can poſſibly recover its former flouriſhing ſtate.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIII.

Climate extremely cold in Winter. The Winds and Weather peculiar to North America. Particular Deſcription of the Mountains. Number of Inhabitants in New Jerſey. The Whole Number in all the United States of America. Great Proportion of Negroe Slaves. Aſtoniſhing and alarming Decreaſe in Population. Extreme Weakneſs of the American States, and their Want of Reſources. Abſolutely unable to defend themſelves in any future War.

IN the northern part of New Jerſey and Penſylvania, as well as throughout all the governments of New York and New England, the climate in the winter is ſo intolerably cold that it will freeze up the largeſt and broadeſt rivers in one night and renders thoſe countries much leſs pleaſant and agreeable than the more ſouthern provinces; for the ſummers are likewiſe almoſt equally as hot and ſultry, notwithſtanding the extreme ſeverity of the rigorous winters.

In regard to the winds and weather that generally prevail, it is obſerved that in America all the great ſtorms begin to leeward; thus a north-eaſt ſtorm ſhall be a day ſooner in Virginia than at Boſton.

There are generally remarkable changes in the degrees of heat and cold at Philadelphia every three or four days, but not ſo often to the northward.

The navigation of the Delaware is almoſt every winter ſtopped by ice for two or three months, and the North River is longer frozen than the Delaware;

laware ; yet New York, being on ſalt water, affords better winter navigation. Both Delaware and New York Bays are quite free from the ſhip worms that infeſt all the harbours and ſalt water rivers to the ſouthward.

Land winds in dry weather raiſe the thickeſt fogs, attracting the moiſture on the rivers and coaſts they come in contact with, in ſuch large quantities, that until they are diſperſed by the ſun and other cauſes, they obſtruct the rays of light in direct lines. After the diſſipation of theſe vapours, the moſt intenſe heats are produced, and very often thunder guſts towards evening.

Thunder generally proceeds from the meeting of ſea and land clouds. Thoſe from the ſea coming fraught with electricity, and meeting others leſs ſo, the equilibrium is reſtored by claps of thunder, eruſcations, cracks, and flaſhes of lightning ; the more oppoſite the winds, and the larger and compacter the clouds, the more dreadful and tremendous are the ſhocks.

Theſe clouds, thus ſuddenly bereft of that univerſal element of repellency and expanſion, immediately contract, and their water guſhes down in torrents.

Land winds, paſſing over a large ſhaded and very often frozen continent on both ſides of the vaſt and ſtupendous Apalachian or Allegany Mountains, are always dry and cold ; and the ſea winds on the contrary wet and warm. The north-eaſt is a ſettled high wind, and moſtly wet ; and the ſouth-weſt wind is ſqually and unſettled. The hotteſt weather is with a ſouth wind and calms, and the coldeſt with north-weſt winds. Snow comes from north to north-eaſt, rainy ſtorms come from north-eaſt to eaſt, and high

high dry wind from the weſt. However the land winds in America blow above three quarters of the year.

There is an immenſe ridge of mountains on the back of Virginia, Maryland, Penſylvania, and New Jerſey, extending above nine hundred miles in length, and from ſeventy to a hundred right acroſs, named the Endleſs Mountains, ſometimes alſo generally called the Blue Mountains, of which ſcarce one acre out of ten is capable of culture. They are not confuſedly ſcattered, and here and there promiſcuouſly in lofty peaks overtopping one another like moſt of the mountains in Europe, but they ſtretch in long uniform ridges ſcarce half a mile perpendicular in any place.

Theſe furniſh innumerable funds for ſpeculation, and ſyſtems and theories of the world: but the moſt obvious is, that this earth has undergone many changes, and is now compoſed on the ruins of its former ſtate. Bones and ſhells, which eſcaped the fate of ſofter and leſs durable ſubſtances, are frequently found here mixed with other materials, and elegantly preſerved in the looſe ſtones and rocky baſes of the higheſt of theſe vaſt ridges.

Theſe mountains certainly exiſted in their preſent elevated height before the general deluge, but probably not ſo bare of ſoil as now.

The farther ridges, which are much the largeſt and higheſt, proceeding from the inclination of the whole towards the ſea, are covered with very rich land even to the ſummits; whilſt all the ſoil ſeems ſwept from the very valleys on this hither ſide. Their great height, it may be preſumed, rendered them leſs expoſed to that general

general devaſtation, and preſerved them unhurt; while the ſoil and the looſe part of the lower hills and valleys, agitated by a greater weight of water, were borne away, ſuſpended in the daſhing waves, and thrown downwards in ſtratas of different kinds, as the billows fluctuated and rolled from different parts, ſtill obvious in the lower lands northward and weſtward of the Rariton and the Delaware.

But in New Jerſey, on the other ſide of theſe rivers, the land is made by an accumulation of ſand from the ocean. Digging there about eighteen feet, through white worn ſand, you come to a ſtratum of ſea mud intermixed with ſhells and other drift traſh; and in ſome places vaſt beds of ſhells in pairs, entire, thirty miles from the ſea.

Beyond the Endleſs Mountains, the vaſt ridge, particularly named the Allegany Mountains, begins, which are ſixty miles from thence to their higheſt ſummit. There is a very extraordinary report among the natives, the Senekas and Onondagaes. It is ſaid, in a tradition of the Indians, that at the foot of one of theſe mountains named Onugarexnae, near the ſource of a ſmall river that enters the eaſt branch of the Suſquehannah at Oſewingo, in Penſylvania, Indian corn, tobacco, ſquaſhes, and pompions, were firſt found.

After theſe general obſervations concerning the weather, winds, &c. which I flatter myſelf will be thought uſeful, if not entertaining, it may be proper to recur to the former ſubject of the ſtate of population of New Jerſey, that of all the other provinces being already ſpecified.

The

The number of inhabitants in New Jerſey are ſaid to be an hundred and thirty thouſand, which I believe to be pretty exact. Of theſe about one half are Negroes.

I have thus given not only the exaggerated account of the number of the inhabitants in all the Thirteen United States, as firſt publiſhed by the Congreſs, at the commencement of the revolt, in order to magnify the appearance of their reſources and thereby deceive the different European powers, who were then awaiting with aſtoniſhment for the event of this unprecedented and formidable rebellion; but have ſtated alſo the real number of the ſouls in each of the provinces, as nearly the truth, and from as good authority, as could be aſcertained.

According to this firſt calculation of the Congreſs, which I have conſidered as erroneous, the whole number of the inhabitants amounts to three millions one hundred and thirty-ſeven thouſand eight hundred and ſixty-nine, including the Negroes, Mulattoes, and civilized Indians, which, even according to this exaggerated ſtatement, bear a formidable proportion in number to the whole.

For in Georgia two-fifths of the inhabitants are Negroes, and amount to eighty-eight thouſand eight hundred and ſixty. In South Carolina the ſlaves bear nearly the ſame proportion to the whites, and amount to one hundred and eighty thouſand and ninety-three. In North Carolina two-thirds are blacks, being two hundred thouſand. In Virginia the ſame proportion makes four hundred and thirty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-four; and in Maryland two hundred and thirteen thouſand three hundred and

and thirty-four. In Penſylvania, and the three lower counties on Delaware, one-third only being ſlaves, amounts to one hundred and ſixteen thouſand ſix hundred and ſixty-ſix. In New Jerſey about half are Negroes, which is ſixty-five thouſand. In New York there are more than one-third blacks, making eighty-three thouſand three hundred and thirty-three; and in the four provinces of New England there being upwards of one-twentieth ſlaves and civilized Indians, they amount to forty thouſand and eighty-three.

Theſe numbers added together come to no leſs than one million four hundred and twenty thouſand ſeven hundred and three, of uſeleſs, or rather burdenſome inhabitants, when conſidered as the ſtrength and reſources of the ſtate, and being deducted from the whole, there appears to be only one million ſeven hundred and ſeventeen thouſand one hundred and ſixty-ſix whites remaining, which conſiſt of men, women, and children.

Three-fourths of theſe muſt be women and children, and at leaſt half of the remainder of the males unable to bear arms; which leaves juſt two hundred and fourteen thouſand ſix hundred and forty-five.

From this ſmall number, all the artificers, labourers, manufacturers, ſailors, and ſoldiers, neceſſary throughout the whole of the Thirteen United States, muſt be furniſhed.

But as the foregoing calculation is manifeſtly magnified beyond the truth, no leſs than four hundred and ſeventy-four thouſand two hundred and ſixty-nine in the whole, the reſt of the deductions being made in the above proportions, leaves

leaves a ſtill leſs number to ſupply the neceſſary purpoſes juſt ſpecified; viz. only one hundred and eighty-two thouſand two hundred and two; of theſe if every fifteenth man was taken to form and keep up an army, which indeed would be more than could poſſibly be ſpared from the other neceſſary exigences in the œconomy and ſupport of the ſtate, it would only conſiſt of about twelve thouſand men; and any accidental diminution would with the utmoſt difficulty indeed be recruited or replaced.

From this view, our ſurpriſe will immediately ceaſe at the inferiority of numbers of the American army, and the extreme difficulty with which it was kept up to any appearance of reſpect.

But at the ſame time our aſtoniſhment will be excited beyond meaſure at this trifling force, not only being ſuffered ſo long to remain in exiſtence, but even ultimately to accompliſh a degree of power and ſucceſs they themſelves never even dreamed of, and in the face of the fineſt army in the world, of five times their number, and fifty times their ſtrength.

But I ſhall drop the curtain over this ſubject, being determined in future never to hazard or entertain any kind of political ſpeculations.

The amazing decreaſe in population of theſe provinces, ſince the commencement of the late war, is evinced by a compariſon between the firſt calculation of the number of inhabitants, made and publiſhed by the Congreſs in 1775, and the following one in 1783, made by order of the Congreſs alſo, for levying a proper proportion of taxes in each ſtate.

According

According to the firſt computation the number of the whole in the year 1775 was 3,137,869. In 1783 their numbers ſtood as follows:

New Hampſhire	82,200
Maſſachuſet's Bay	350,000
Rhode Iſland	50,400
Connecticut	206,000
New York	200,000
New Jerſey	130,000
Penſylvania	320,000
Delaware Counties	35,000
Maryland	220,700
Virginia	400,000
North Carolina	200,000
South Carolina	170,000
Georgia	25,000
In all	2,389,300

From a compariſon of the above ſtatements, there appears to be a decreaſe in population of 748,589, within eight years; an event that ſurely ought to be ſufficiently alarming; and both theſe calculations are ſupported upon the authority of the American Congreſs themſelves.

By the enumeration which I have mentioned as neareſt the truth, there alſo appears to be a very conſiderable decreaſe in population, viz. the difference between 2,663,600, which I conſidered as the real number of inhabitants in 1775, and 2,383,300, the number in 1783: by this there appears to be a decreaſe of 280,300.

By this laſt computation, made by the Congreſs in 1783, it appears that the reſources of the American

American ſtates in men, the ſureſt ſtrength and only actual means of defence, are ſtill inferior to what has been already mentioned; weak indeed, inſignificant, and very inadequate to ſupport the dignity and honour of independent and ſovereign ſtates, being, according to the foregoing proportion and deductions, only in the whole one hundred and ſixty-three thouſand and twenty-ſix males able to bear arms; from which, after ſupplying all the other exigences of the ſtate, an army could not be raiſed of more than ten thouſand men, for the purpoſe of guarding and defending a coaſt of one thouſand five hundred miles in length, and a frontier on the oppoſite ſide no leſs expoſed, and much more extended; beſides detachments for obſervation, excluſive of any for carrying on offenſive operations, if ever they ſhould again be involved in war.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXIV.

Brief Account of what befel ſeveral of the Perſons formerly mentioned in the Courſe of this Work. The Fellow who robbed me in the Mountains. The poor friendleſs Engliſh Girl. The tyrannical barbarous Gaoler. The brutal Dutch Guard. Captain Cameron exchanged. Extraordinary Reſolve of the American Congreſs and the Anſwer to it. Colonel Connolly in Conſequence thereof returned a Priſoner of War and exchanged.

AS in the courſe of the war I was ſo fortunate as to obtain ample ſatisfaction of many of the individuals of the Americans, who had been the inſtruments, and ſometimes the occaſion of the indignities and wanton barbarity exerciſed upon me while in captivity, I ſhall give a brief recital of a few of theſe occurrences here, as well as of what befel my unfortunate fellow-priſoners, along with whom I was firſt taken, and from whom I had been ſeparated they being left at Philadelphia, before I cloſe this volume; as the curioſity of my readers may have been excited by the foregoing relation to be anxious to know their fate.

Some few weeks previous to the embarkation of the grand army for the Cheſapeak and Philadelphia, as I was returning from Fort Waſhington to New York, I met a man whoſe face was familiar to my mind, and in a few moments recollected him to be Barclay, the fellow who had privately made off after robbing me in the mountains,

tains, when in the moſt extreme diſtreſs imaginable, during my former attempt to eſcape.

Having ſtopped him, and called him by his name, he was almoſt petrified with ſurprize, terror, and guilt at ſeeing me, and immediately fell on his knees intreating my forgiveneſs.

I myſelf being equally aſtoniſhed at finding him at New York deſired him, if he expected pardon or mercy, to be candid and acquaint me with the motives that induced him to commit ſo baſe an action as to rob and abandon me when in the very greateſt need and diſtreſs, and in ſo dreadful and wretched a ſituation.

As his explanation and motives were both originals, and peculiar to himſelf, I ſhall give them as nearly as poſſible in his own words. "Arrah "now" (ſays he) "your honour knows, that I "went many a weary mile with your honour, "and waded many a deep, broad, frozen river, "with your worſhip, and laid many a cold "night in the ſnow in the mountains with your "honour; and ſtarved without a mouthful to "eat for many a day with your worſhip; until "I began to think I could never hold it out "much longer at all at all; but at laſt when "both your honour's legs were diſabled, yet "ſtill your worſhip would keep puſhing forward, I then thought it would never do; and "that your honour would not be able to go "much farther at all at all; and that by and by "we ſhould all be taken; and that they would, "for certain, murther me alive, if ever they "catched me along with your worſhip; and ſo "I thought I would fling them there; for I

"would

" would leave your honour in time. And as I " was certain they would plunder your worſhip, " I thought I would fling them there too; and " ſo I took every thing along with me, to " take care of for your honour, and to keep it " all from the rebel thieves, who would not " have thanked your worſhip for all you had. " Now arrah, by my ſhoul, pleaſe your wor- " ſhip, this is all my reaſons, and motions, " and more too; and I hope your honour will " think them good enough, and enough of " them; and pardon, and forgive me, for the " ſake of my wife and weans; and we'll all " pray for your worſhip as long as we live, and " longer too; for arrah, by my faith, I am do- " ing very well here; and have got all my wife " and weans together, in a rebel houſe that had no " body in it; and I have got ſome rebel land, " and we make potatoes."

Being diverted with his ſtrange reaſoning, and finding him loyal in principle, although otherwiſe a great rogue, I aſſured him of my forgiveneſs, gave him a dollar, and left him.

THE next circumſtance that occurred, relating to any perſon that has been formerly mentioned, was at Kenneth's Square, in Penſylvania, where the army halted for a night, the very one preceeding the action at Brandy-wine. Here obſerving a number of officers crowding around a young woman, at a houſe which had been abandoned by the inhabitants, to whom they were behaving rather improperly, looking in her face and recollecting the poor unfortunate Engliſh girl who had been ſo barbaroſly treated and baſely abuſed by her Maſter and Miſtreſs and our brutal Dutch guard at New

port

port only for mentioning her concern at seeing us in irons, I pushed away the officers rather rudely, and asked her if she recollected me? After a few moments consideration she remembered me, and the poor creature's joy was beyond measure excessive to see me alive, and with my friends, as she imagined the Americans had destroyed us.

Her pleasure was not diminished by my requesting she would do me the favour of accepting of three guineas as a trifling compensation for her former commiseration and regard for us, as well as for her loyalty and sufferings.

The officers, whom I had so rudely pushed away during my first impulse of surprize, were all this time divided between resentment at my conduct towards them, and wonder at this adventure: but on being made acquainted with the story they gave way to compassion and generosity, and amongst them made up a contribution of two guineas more for the poor unfortunate young woman.

Understanding that I had no tent, and slept only in a temporary wigwham upon the ground, which was indeed my situation all this campaign, this grateful kind-hearted creature pressed me to accept of her apartment, and seemed really much concerned and hurt at my declining it.

Next morning, the army having moved very early, she watched the line of march for my passing, and when I came along most earnestly wished me health, safety, and success: and her prayers had their desired effect, for on that day, in one of the hottest actions that has been in America, numbers fell on each side of me, and I remained untouched.

ON the morning of the day that a detachment of the British army first entered Philadelphia, a number of the rebels fell into my hands, and amongst the rest Thomas Dewees, the cruel, tyrannical gaoler, under whose iron talons I had suffered so long and severely.

As soon as this wretch found that I was the officer commanding the party, his terror is not to be described, as he expected nothing less than immediate death; falling on his knees he begged for his life, and for mercy. I desired him to consider, what he merited from me? He acknowledged that he deserved neither favour nor compassion, said that his orders respecting me had been more rigorous than against any other, and owned that he had executed them in their full severity; but still most earnestly intreated forgiveness.

I told him that for the sake of his innocent wife and children (for he had a large family) and to convince the deluded infatuated rebels that Britons were not of that vindictive disposition he had expected and represented us to be, I would forgive him, as he professed sincere contrition, and proposed to take the oaths of allegiance to his Majesty: this he readily performed; and had the audacity afterwards of applying to Earl Cornwallis to be appointed Deputy Provost Marshal over the rebel prisoners in Philadelphia, in the accomplishment of which pursuit however he very justly failed.

The other prisoners I had taken proved to be Capt. Jacobs, and the brutal Dutch guard, who carried us in irons from Philadelphia to Baltimore.

When these fellows were brought to me, and discovered that I commanded, their horror and dismay

diſmay is inexpreſſible. In an agony of dread and deſpair, they fell upon their knees, and moſt earneſtly intreated for "one half hour to ſay their prayers."

I could not conceive what they meant, and deſired to know why they were ſo violently determined on going to prayers juſt then, at ſo unſeaſonable a time? They anſwered, *Bee ſhure they ſay their prayers bevore they tay*;" and I found that they really expected immediate death.

A Highland officer, that was along with me, on being informed the cauſe of their ſtrange requeſt and the occaſion of their fears, drew his ſword at Captain Jacobs, and terrified him moſt unmercifully, deſiring to know, "*hoo ſeck a fallow as he was, could dare to put a Breetiſh Officer in eyrons?*" Jacobs *replied*, "*Bee ſhure tvaz der dyvel's own Vork: Ich knowſh no beterſh. Poor ignorant Dytcherſh knowſh no beterſh*," and then they all exclaimed, "*Yaw, Yaw, Ich knowſh no beterſh; Ich fery ſhorry; vor ſhure tvaz der Dyvel's own vork.*"

I told them they need not be in ſuch haſte to go to prayers, for their lives were in no danger: that I freely forgave them their ill treatment and injuries to me: that ſuch of them as were really ſorry for their paſt conduct might return to their homes upon taking the oaths of allegiance to their Sovereign. And that none need do even that, but ſuch as choſe to do it freely, of their own accord, for thoſe who declined it ſhould only be made priſoners, their perſons being perfectly ſafe.

Upon this their joy and gratitude ſeemed equal to their former terror; and every man of them gladly took the oaths of allegiance, and returned

to his home, where I am well convinced they would have continued as loyal and peaceable ſubjects, had they not been abandoned, and thrown back into the hands of the Americans.

IN regard to what befel Colonel Connolly and Captain Cameron, the following brief account will be ſufficient. During the time the Britiſh troops were in poſſeſſion of Philadelphia, Captain Cameron was permitted to come in there on parole, and was ſoon after regularly exchanged for an American officer of equal rank, who had been allowed to return to his friends on parole likewiſe. And the hard treatment and ſevere uſage Colonel Connolly afterwards experienced is ſufficiently aſcertained and authenticated by the following reſolve of the American Congreſs, and the anſwer to it alſo made public, the veracity of which anſwer, in every ſingle article, has never been nor can be controverted.

An extraordinary Reſolution of the American Congreſs.

In CONGRESS, Nov. 12, 1778.

The Committee to whom was referred a letter from John Beatty, Commiſſary of Priſoners, dated September 15th, 1778, together with two letters from Joſhua Laring, Eſq. of the 1ſt of September and 28th of October, and ſundry letters from John Connolly, report the following ſtate of facts.

That Doctor John Connolly (now ſtiling himſelf Lieutenant Colonel in the Britiſh ſervice) was, in the latter end of November, 1775, apprehended in Frederick county, in Maryland, in company with a certain

tain Allen Cameron, and J. F. Smyth, by the Committee of Inſpection of that county.

That at the time he was taken, he was not in arms, or at the head of any party of men in arms, but was clandeſtinely making his way to Detroit, in order to join, give intelligence to, and otherwiſe aid the garriſon at that place, as appears by his own intercepted letters of the 16th of December, 1775.

That a number of officers in the Britiſh ſervice, who were made priſoners, long after the ſaid John Connolly was apprehended, have been exchanged in courſe; and no demand has been made (till within theſe few months paſt) by any Britiſh General, for the releaſe or exchange of the officer laſt mentioned.

With reſpect to the treatment of the ſaid Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, the Committee report,

That at the time when he was firſt apprehended, he was confined under guard, by the Committee of Inſpection in the town of Frederick, in an apartment ſeparate from his aſſociates, without any circumſtance to aggravate his captivity, except the being debarred the uſe of pen, ink, and paper:

That, notwithſtanding this reſtraint, he contrived to write ſeveral letters of intelligence to the Britiſh officers commanding at the poſts of Detroit and Kuſkuſkis, which letters were found on the perſon of Dr. Smyth, one of his aſſociates, who, having eſcaped from the town of Frederick, was again apprehended:

That by the reſolution of Congreſs, of the 8th of December, 1775, he was ordered to be confined in priſon at Philadelphia; that being brought to that city, he was confined in the new gaol, wherein he continued till about the month of November 1776, when he was permitted, on account of a declining ſtate of health, to reſide on his parole, at the houſe of his brother-in-law, on the river Suſquehannah, where he continued for about two months; when on

information being given to the Council of Safety, of the State of Penſylvania, of certain ſuſpicious circumſtances relative to him, he was remanded to his former place of confinement, in which he continued till about the ſpring, 1777, when he was again permitted on his parole, and the ſecurity of his brother-in-law, to return to his former place of reſidence on the river Suſquehannah:

That during theſe periods of his confinement in the new gaol, he had, for the greateſt part of the time, a ſeparate apartment to himſelf, the privilege of walking in the yard, a perſon allowed to attend him in his apartment, and his own ſervant permitted to fetch him ſuch neceſſaries as he choſe to order:

That during the ſhort period, when he had not a ſeparate apartment, there were never more than two perſons in the ſame room, ſeldom more than one, and thoſe, ſome of his aſſociates, or in conſequence of his particular requeſt:

That during theſe periods of time he made two attempts to eſcape, in which he was detected:

That an authentic information being given to Congreſs, at York Town, that the ſaid Lieutenant-colonel John Connolly, was acting in a manner not conſiſtent with the ſpirit of his parole, and the frontiers being threatened with a barbarous war, in which there was reaſon to apprehend he was deſigned as an inſtrument, he was ordered into confinement in the gaol at York-Town, on the thirteenth of October:

That on the 17th of May, the ſaid J. Connolly, with ſeveral others confined in ſaid gaol, made a repreſentation to Congreſs, ſetting forth in the ſtrongeſt colouring, the hardſhips and cruelties which they declared they were then ſuffering:

That on the reſult of a ſtrict enquiry, and after the gaol had been viſited by Colonel Pickering, one of the Members of the Board of War, it appeared that the ſuggeſtions contained in the ſaid reprefentation were ſcandalous and groundleſs; and the report of the

the Board of War, was, on the 23d day of May ordered to be publiſhed:

That ſince the evacuation of Philadelphia, the ſaid J. Connolly was remanded to the new gaol in that city, where (excepting the ſpace of about fourteen days, when two perſons were neceſſarily obliged to ſleep in the ſame room) he has had a ſeparate and commodious apartment of his own choice, the privilege of his own ſervant to attend him conſtantly, and to bring whatever he may require, and the unreſtrained uſe of a ſpacious yard to take the air in during the day:

That in his letter of the 12th of October, 1778, the ſaid J. Connolly declared, "That the common rights of humanity are denied to him," and paints his ſituation in ſuch terms, as would tend to induce a belief, that the moſt wanton cruelties and reſtraints are impoſed upon him:

That in conſequence of a requeſt of J. Connolly, to be heard in perſon by a Committee of Congreſs, this Committee have complied with his requeſt, when he declared, in preſence of your Committee, "That excepting the reſtraint of his perſon, under the limits above mentioned, which however indulgent they might appear, he conceived unfavourable to his ſtate of health, he experienced every other relief which could be extended to a perſon in confinement."

That Joſhua Loring, Eſq. Britiſh Commiſſary of Priſoners, in his Letter to Mr. Beatty of the firſt of September, 1778, threatens to retaliate on an American priſoner of war, of equal rank with Lieutenant-colonel Connolly, for the ſuffering which it is pretended that officer endures."

Whereupon Reſolved,

That Lieutenant-colonel John Connolly cannot, of right, claim to be conſidered and treated as a priſoner of war: but that he was, at the time he was appre-

hended, and ſtill is, amenable to the law martial, as a ſpy and emiſſary from the Britiſh army:

That the repeated repreſentations made by Lieutenant-colonel John Connolly, of the grievances he undergoes, are not founded on facts:

That General Waſhington be directed to tranſmit the foregoing reſolutions and ſtate of facts, to the Commander in Chief of his Britannic Majeſty's forces in New York; and to inform the ſaid officer, that if under the pretext of retaliating for the pretended ſufferings of a perſon, who, by the law of nations, has no right to be conſidered as a priſoner of war, any American officer, entitled to be conſidered and treated as a priſoner of war, ſhall undergo any extraordinary reſtraints or ſufferings, Congreſs are determined to retaliate on the perſon of an officer of the firſt rank in their poſſeſſion, for every ſpecies of hardſhip or reſtraint on ſuch account inflicted.

Extract from the minutes,

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

This very extraordinary reſolution of the American Congreſs produced an anſwer from one of the officers concerned and named therein, which was tranſmitted to the Congreſs at Philadelphia, and a copy of it incloſed to the Britiſh Commander in Chief, along with the following introductory letter.

To Sir Henry Clinton, Commander in Chief, &c. &c.

"Having ſeen a reſolve of the American Congreſs, wherein they order their General to tranſmit to your Excellency by letter the report of one of their Committees concerning the caſe (and their concluſions thereon) of Lieut. Col. Connolly, for whoſe exchange I preferred a Memorial to your Excellency in Auguſt laſt,

laſt, as that report is either totally falſe, or a miſrepreſentation of facts, which being known only to two, viz. Mr. Cameron and myſelf, and as Mr. Cameron is now gone to Britain, I conceive it would be an unpardonable neglect to me to allow that unfortunate officer, Lieut. Col. Connolly, to ſuffer through theſe miſrepreſentations, or to let ſuch a notorious perverſion of truth paſs unnoticed and undetected.

Therefore by a plain and impartial relation of facts, for the truth of all which I will be anſwerable; I have confuted their ſhameleſs and falſe aſſertions, thereby depriving them even of the ſhadow of an excuſe for the perpetration of this laſt daring inſtance of intended cruelty; an inſult on reaſon, humanity, and the law of nations.

This anſwer I have preſumed to lay before your Excellency, imagining the neceſſary information in this matter might poſſibly be wanting, from that officer's ſituation and circumſtances not being explained or ſufficiently known, and flattering myſelf that your Excellency's wiſdom and humanity will endeavour to preſerve my unhappy fellow-priſoner's life, and enforce his exchange.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

J. FERDINAND D. SMYTH,
Capt. Q. R.

Oyſter Bay, Long Iſland,
December 17, 1778.

To the AMERICAN CONGRESS at PHILADELPHIA.

WHEN an enquiry after truth is ſet on foot, from whomſoever the enquiry originates, it becomes the duty of every individual to promote the diſcovery of it; and, as far as comes within his own knowledge and obſervations, to make it public.

But when the name of an enquiry after truth is proſtituted to the purpoſe of concealing it, when falſe

assertions are published to the world, facts misrepresented, and conclusions thereby formed totally void of foundation, and inconsistent even with that humanity which is now supported by powers at open war with each other, it then becomes an indispensible duty on every person, in whose power it may be, to set those matters enquired into, in a true and proper light; and it is also the duty of those who ordered the enquiry to attend to every such well-supported information, that is, if they wish to fulfil avowed good intentions.

From these motives I am induced to endeavour to set you right, in regard to the report of your Committee to you, concerning the case of Lieutenant-Colonel John Connolly, a prisoner with you:—which report being founded on error and wrong information, may have misled you; and as represented by you, would induce the world to believe things that are not.

That officer's case, even as your Committee report it, with all their softnings and disguises, is sufficiently distressing and cruel. But when impartially related, as it shall be by me, must interest humanity itself, and of course all mankind in his favour, to alleviate his sufferings.

That this is in my power is well known to you, being, as you are pleased to style me, one of his associates, who was taken prisoner and suffered along with him, under your iron rod, for the space of one year and three months. Nor am I unacquainted with the futility of your Committees of Enquiry, having in that time had three upon me, from your Congress, on account of insupportable confinement. Yet, notwithstanding the most clear and satisfactory proofs against those I complained of, I was still left in the custody and power of my tormentors.

At the same time I must do three of your members the justice to say, that they behaved with politeness, and appeared much shocked at our treatment: they

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are a Mr. Wilcot, from Connecticut, a Mr. Morris, and a Colonel Rofs, of Penſylvania: but the injurious cruel meaſures of the perſecuting, violent incendiary, M'Kean *, overpowered moderation and humanity.

Your Committee report, "that Lieut. Col. John Connolly, with his two aſſociates, A. Cameron, and J. F. Smyth, were apprehended by a committee of inſpection as ſpies, not in arms, &c. amenable to your law martial, &c." An aſſertion void of truth.

The fact is, that on the 20th of November, 1775, a time when you publickly diſclaimed all intentions of independence or ſeparation from Great Britain, avowing allegiance to your Sovereign, and affecting only to reſiſt the Miniſtry and Parliament, we were made priſoners by a company of riflemen, conſiſting of a Captain, a Lieutenant, an Enſign, two Serjeants, and thirty-ſix rank and file, armed with rifles, tomahawks, &c. Lieut. Col. Connolly, and we alſo, were in arms againſt you, but were overpowered by numbers, our arms taken from us, which are ſtill in your poſſeſſion, and we were taken, and always ſtyled by you as priſoners of war. That you beheld us in that light is put beyond a doubt, by your exchanging Lieutenant Allan Cameron, one of theſe aſſociates, as you are pleaſed to term us, of Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, for one of your officers of equal rank, in the latter part of 1777, or the beginning of 1778, at Philadelphia: and in September, 1776, a Committee of your Congreſs came to us in priſon, deſiring us to prepare to be immediately exchanged as 'priſoners of war,' which you alſo called us in all your writings.

You ſay, "that no exchange was demanded for Lieutenant Colonel Connolly until within theſe few months."

* Since then Preſident of the Congreſs for ſome time.

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This aſſertion is alſo without foundation; for even in 1775, and alſo in 1776, Lord Dunmore frequently offered officers of your's, of equal rank, in exchange for Lieutenant Colonel Connolly and us, to your Virginia Governors, of which province you affected to call us priſoners. But your bugbear fears of us prevented you from exchanging us, and are ſtill the occaſion of that unfortunate officer's rigid confinement.

You ſay, "that he was clandeſtinely making his way through the country in order to join, give intelligence to, &c. and otherwiſe aid the garriſons of Detroit and Kiſkuſkes;" and as a proof of this aſſertion, you mention "a letter from him, found on the perſon of Doctor Smyth, who eſcaped from Frederick Town, and was again apprehended," which letter you acknowledge, was written after he was taken priſoner.

The truth is, that Lieutenant Colonel Connolly was to proceed from Norfolk in Virginia to Detroit in Canada, there to take the command of an expedition, and he had his inſtructions from his Majeſty's Commander in Chief. It lay with him to chooſe, whether he would proceed to Canada, round north by the St. Laurence and Quebec, or ſouth by Cape Florida and the Miſſiſſippi, for which purpoſe an armed veſſel awaited his commands, or to travel by land acroſs the country to Detroit. The lateneſs of the ſeaſon (it being then November) determined his choice of the laſt mentioned route, it being not one-ſixth of the diſtance of the others. We conceived ourſelves very able to paſs through the country in arms, and the event ſhewed, that we were equal to the taſk, having paſſed ſafe above four hundred miles, and thro' every place where there was danger; our being taken at laſt being merely accidental; events which frequently diſconcert the beſt planned and beſt conducted enterpriſes.

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The name of " Spy" applied to either of us, is perfectly abſurd, as we knew the country, and the minds of the inhabitants, as well as we could deſire. Your proof of our being ſpies too is equally prepoſterous, being " a letter found on me written by Lieut. Col. Connolly near a month after his captivity," and the ſubſtance of the letter was, only for the commanding officers at Detroit and Kiſkuſkes to give implicit credit to my informations to them. That we wiſhed to be as much unnoticed as poſſible is certain, as we were not ſufficient to reſiſt the attack of any numbers, yet by rapid marſhes we were ſuperior to any force that might accidentally oppoſe us. But that we went in a " clandeſtine manner," as you ſay, is utterly void of foundation, as will appear by tracing our route.

That we were " amenable to your laws," becauſe we once reſided in theſe revolted colonies, not even the moſt ſophiſtical reaſoning can reconcile; becauſe you know, that we oppoſed your meaſures, from the very commencement of this rebellion, even in arms; that none of you repreſented us, or our principle; nor did we claim any protection from you or your government, having publickly renounced your ſociety, and abandoned our homes, to avoid your lawleſs and uſurped domination.

The demand of the exchange of Lieutenant Colonel Connolly, in Auguſt and September laſt, was occaſioned by a memorial from me to Sir Henry Clinton, whom, being our laſt Commander in Chief, I thought it my duty to remind of the ſufferings of my unfortunate friend.

But the idea of a retaliation of cruelty I utterly diſclaim; however neceſſary, I ſhudder at the thought of an emulation in ſavage barbarity. In that, your fertile reſources and ingenuity will enable you very far to excel us.

As to his treatment—you ſay, " he complains to you, that the common rights of humanity are denied him."

That

That they have been withheld from him I can very juſtly aver. The following ſtate of facts I can vouch for on my own knowledge.

That, after we were taken priſoners, excepting two or three days when we were ſeparately confined, we were all kept in the ſame room; that, during the firſt ſeven weeks, his ſervant was taken from him, and we ſuffered every ſpecies of inſult daily, and were in danger and dread of being murdered every night.

That, when he was thrown into Philadelphia gaol, in January 1776, his ſervant was again taken from him and ſent entirely away; and for a long year afterwards, he ſuffered a more ſevere and rigid confinement, than any perſon can have an idea of, except thoſe who have felt it; a confinement ſo inſupportable as to juſtify the moſt deſperate attempts to eſcape.

That it was never in his power to ſend out for the moſt trifling neceſſary without paying court to your iron-hearted gaoler; and he had not permiſſion to ſpeak, even to us, whom you are pleaſed to ſtyle his aſſociates, although in the ſame priſon.

That his ſharp talon'd ravenous keeper, by the moſt flagrant and iniquitous charges, continually extorted from him all the money he could poſſibly raiſe.

After his health had been effectually deſtroyed by your moſt horrid confinement, you ſay, "That he was then permitted to parole about November, 1776." An aſſertion I muſt alſo deny; becauſe on the 16th of December, 1776, when I and twenty-five other officers and ſoldiers were brought out of your dungeons, and drawn up in irons before his window, I then ſaw that unfortunate officer Lieut. Col. Connolly in tears in his cell at ſeeing the irons cut our fleſh, and to prevent it he threw out of his grates a pair of gloves to Captain M'Lean, and me.

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In that ſituation we left him. But I ſuppoſe a few months impriſonment, even in a dungeon, is, by you, overlooked as a trifle of no conſequence.

Having myſelf been then carried to a diſtant place of confinement, I can aſcertain nothing farther concerning him, of my own knowledge. But you confeſs, "that you threw him ſoon afterwards in York Town gaol, on an information of his acting in a manner inconſiſtent with the *ſpirit* of his parole." A moſt jeſuitical ſubterfuge, whereby every officer on parole might, with equal propriety, be cloſe confined, whenever it was found convenient.

If a priſoner complies with the *letter* of his parole, it has always been thought ſufficient. And let me acquaint you, that if acting contrary to the *ſpirit*, or even the *letter* of their paroles was noticed or puniſhed here, not an officer of your's, now at large on Long Iſland, but would long ago have been cloſe confined.

It too plainly appears, that this unfortunate officer has been equally injured by you throughout his whole captivity. And now,—*Finis coronat opus*, your ſole, your mighty *fiat*, your laſt reſolve breaks all bounds, and ſtrikes at his life, as "a ſpy, and emiſſary from the Britiſh army,' rendering him amenable to a motley government, and mock laws, originated, framed, and conſtructed ſince his captivity, months, and even years. And to conclude the whole, as an inſult on human underſtanding, on Britiſh humanity, and on the law of nations, you order your General to tranſmit theſe reſolves, acts, and concluſions of iniquity of yours, by letter to the Commander in Chief of his Majeſty's forces; which, even as repreſented by yourſelves, carry abſurdity and falſehood in their face.

Your General, who wants not ſenſe nor diſcernment, I conceive never had a more diſgraceful or unwelcome taſk impoſed on him. If he has a ſenſe of honour or ſhame left, or that amiable and diffident merit

merit for which he was once diſtinguiſhed, he would much more gladly undertake another Brooklyn, Brandywine, German Town, or Freehold affair, than ſuch a taſk of flagrant iniquity.

It is almoſt unneceſſary to take notice, that your finiſhing "reſolve of making retaliation on a Britiſh officer of the higheſt rank in your poſſeſſion," is only worthy of your cauſe, and of the motives and men from whence it originates.

It has always been obſerved, that men are fond of entering on that particular line in which they are conſcious they can excel:—hence your eagerneſs after retaliation.

But here again your thirſt after barbarity and blood has betrayed you into the bare-faced avowal of that unequal and unjuſt retaliation, of "cauſing a Britiſh officer of the higheſt rank in your power, to ſuffer in the ſuppoſed manner of one of your Lieutenant-Colonels," whoſe reſtraint you yourſelves are alſo the occaſion of, by your treatment of our unfortunate Lieut. Col. Connolly.

However, this threat, and the execution of it, is of a piece with the whole of your proceedings.

The horrid idea of an emulation in cruelty is ſhocking to human nature, and is totally inconſiſtent with generous ſentiments.

Thoſe who are influenced by good principles can contend, even with an enemy, in diſintereſted generoſity, and in actions ſhewing greatneſs of ſoul. An idea that will probably aſtoniſh you, being ſo far out of your line of conduct.

Notorious it is to the world, that you have long ſported with the lives of men.

Britons, even as enemies, have been more merciful to your ill-fated defenders, than you have been, under the ſpecious, but pretended name, of friends and protectors.

The oppreſſion and death of the innocent has long been familiar to you, and you have alſo imbrued your

your hands in the blood of the peaceful Quaker, the inoffenſive citizen, and the harmleſs, ignorant ruſtic, whoſe lives and religion you affect to defend.

At laſt, if poſſible, to add to the meaſure of your guilt, you are preparing to ſhed the blood of an innocent man, who has the honour to bear his Majeſty's commiſſion as Lieutenant-Colonel, after above three years cruel impriſonment in your gaols, under the ſanction of tribunals, and by convenient laws, made for the purpoſe ſince his captivity.

But, for the ſake of humanity, I could wiſh you would firſt conſider the dreadful conſequences of ſuch a ſtep.

Yet, as nothing of the kind from you can ſurpriſe me, I hope, if that ſhould be my friend's unhappy fate, that he will bear the ſtroke with a fortitude becoming the dignity of *your* much injured *Sovereign*, whom we have the honour to ſerve, and the juſtice of the cauſe we maintain.

J. FERDINAND D. SMYTH.
Capt. Q. R.

Oyſter-Bay, Long-Iſland,
December 17, 1778.

The Congreſs, in a very ſhort time after the above anſwer had reached them, ordered the officer in queſtion to be returned as a *priſoner of war*, and ſoon afterwards in conſequence thereof permitted him to be regularly exchanged.

CHAP.

CHAP. LXXV.

Fatal Termination of the War. Inauſpicious to both countries. Conſequences to America of Separation from Great Britain, and of Independence. Conſequences of their connections and Alliance with France. Oppreſſion, Depopulation, &c. of America. Unfit Place of Reſidence. Reflections Concerning the American Loyaliſts of every Deſcription.

THIS unhappy and unfortunate war having terminated in a manner ſo peculiarly unfavourable and inauſpicious to the future proſperity of both countries, particularly to that of America, in a total ſeparation of government, intereſt, and connections, as far as people proceeding from the ſame origin, habituated to the ſame manners and cuſtoms, ſpeaking the ſame language, and profeſſing the ſame religion, can poſſibly admit of; and what is ſtill more extraordinary, and equally to be regretted, this fatal event is univerſally confeſſed to be abſolutely againſt the known and acknowledged intereſt of both.

For theſe new formed United States of America, at the expence of real freedom and the greateſt ſhare of felicity that ever was or will be poſſeſſed by any people or community upon earth, at the expence of an increaſing commerce and population, of opulence and perfect ſecurity in perſon, property, and laws, of a name, as Britiſh ſubjects, then held in the higeſt reſpect and veneration by all the powers in the known world; in ſhort, at the expence of every bleſſing

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that could poſſibly be deſired, poſſeſſed, and enjoyed not only by the public at large, but by every individual thereof, have acquired what is abſolutely nothing better than a ſhadow, " a mo- " mentary, deluſive, miſconceived conſequence " in the eſtimation of other powers;" which will vaniſh, like the phantom from whence it proceeds, upon a more intimate knowledge and experience of its deception and fallacy.

Nay, they have acquired what is worſe than a ſhadow; they have ſhackled themſelves in fetters, which every future ſtruggle to diſengage themſelves from, will only rivet more firmly and render more heavy and oppreſſive; and to the ſupport of which every year's experience will evince them to be altogether inadequate.

For when the enormous load of their debt, contracted during this war, is conſidered, the intereſt of which alone is ſufficient to bear them down, added to their neceſſary and unavoidable expences in ſupporting the dignity of thirteen different governments, with the naval, and military, and civil eſtabliſhments of the whole; beſides the annual preſents to the Indians, and the enormous expences of ambaſſadors, envoys, &c. at foreign courts, to watch over their ſkeleton commerce and intereſt, to keep up their ſhadow of dignity as free, independent, and ſovereign ſtates, and to procure them ſome ſmall degree of reſpect among other powers: Theſe vaſt and continued expenditures, compared with the reſources from whence they all muſt neceſſarily be derived, viz. a country, inſtead of advancing in opulence and ſtrength, actually immerſed in poverty, and decreaſing in population in a degree that might alarm the moſt powerful; a government

ment unsettled, precarious, and doubtful, destitute of energy, vigour, and firmness, and actually incapable of enforcing their own decrees; a commerce fluctuating and unprofitable, with the balance of trade in every channel against them; two thirds of their subjects absolutely disaffected to their rule, which is certainly the case, notwithstanding all that has been alledged to the contrary, secretly wishing for the restoration of that government which has been so lately overturned; and the remainder running into riots, confusion, and every kind of culpable and criminal violence and excess, in open opposition to and defiance of all legal authority: Without artisans, without manufacturers; even common labour bearing an exhorbitant price, and seldom to be procured at all: When all this is duly attended to, what prospect is left of emancipation for this unfortunate country?

When their intoxication of having succeeded in obtaining their boasted fatal independence has worn off, and the unavoidable pressure of taxes begins to operate and become grievous, then will they look back with inexpressible concern and regret at the happy time when they enjoyed every felicity, security, and substantial benefit, under the auspices of the free and mild government of Great Britain. They will execrate the destructive measure, and most sincerely lament the fatal period of separation.

Nor will even hope itself, the great supporter in affliction, be left them for their comfort, to point out any method of extricating themselves from their difficulties.

For entangled in French politics, inthraled by ruinous obligations to, and an unnatural alliance

alliance with a nation totally different from themſelves in habits, manners, and inclinations, in language and ſentments, in religion, in form of government, and, in ſhort, in every thing; their rulers corruped by French gold, captivated by the tinſel parade, grandeur, and affected amity of that artful, perfidious, gaudy people, and influenced by their promiſes and ſpecious affability; unequal alſo to that ſubtle nation in policy, and infinetely inferior in opulence and power, what poſſibility is there of the American States diſengaging themſelves from their controul, or ever again becoming free?

From this repreſentation, which is by no means exaggerated, every perſon with the leaſt ſhare of diſcernment, or even common underſtanding, muſt plainly ſee how undeſirable, and indeed unfit, a place of reſidence the United States of America muſt be for any one whatſoever, either needy or affluent. For ſo far is it from being poſſible now to acquire a fortune in that country, that merely to retain what one already poſſeſſes without diminution is a matter of difficulty, and to procure a decent and comfortable ſubſiſtence by trade or labour muſt be next to impoſſible.

All the foregoing obſervations are evinced by the amazing depopulation of theſe provinces. A decreaſe, for the time, unexampled in hiſtory, and clearly proves every thing herein alledged.

For the reaſons muſt be weighty indeed, that would induce men to abandon their native land, their friends, fortunes, and deareſt connections, and leave the fineſt climate, country, and ſoil in the world to ſettle where every thing is infinitely inferior, among ſtrangers, or an inclement barren wilderneſs, and in a region of froſts and fogs.

fogs. Yet this is undoubtedly the case at present, and thus it will continue.

So that instead of the numerous emigrations that formerly crouded to America, increasing her strength, population, and resources, with a rapidity beyond all example, the state of things is now reversed, and multitudes of the inhabitants certainly are leaving the dominions of the American States as speedily as they possibly can.

This fluctuating state of the country, and their unsettled versatile government will likewise prevent a possibility of any exact account of the United States of America being given for many years to come, as during that time they will be perpetually liable to changes; so that what might have been a just representation in one year, may be found totally different in the next, the inevitable consequence of their present situation.

These observations naturally lead to a reflection of the situation of the American loyalists of every description. Among whom I include all who have been true to their sovereign in principle, whether they have publicly declared it or not, as well as those who have openly avowed their allegiance and taken up arms in favour of Great Britain and the old established government.

Of both these I consider the condition of such as have remained at their homes, and are now subject to the domination of the Congress, as in reality the most deplorable.

The rest depend upon Great Britain for protection, and it would be an indelible stain upon her honour, policy, and her most sacred engagements, were she to abandon them.

But

But the other poor unfortunate men, whose hearts were as true as loyalty and virtue itself, and who have been constantly requested to remain in peace at their homes, and were always promised never to be given up or forsaken, and who, to my knowledge, would not have hesitated to shed the last drop of their blood, had they been called forth in support of their king and country, have now no power on earth to look up to for protection from the insults and barbarity of their illiberal, vindictive, implacable foes; even hope itself is with-held from them, and they must be reduced to absolute desparation.

Few have had such opportunities as I, of knowing and being witness to the ardent zeal, loyalty, and great desert, of these most unfortunate people, and my heart really bleeds for their distresses.

How hard has been the fate of all those truly meritorious but unhappy men, the *American Loyalists* of every denomination! True to their king, faithful to their country, attached to the laws and constitution, they have continued firm and inflexible in the midst of persecutions, torments, and death. Many of them have abandoned their homes, their friends, their nearest and most tender connections, and encountered all the toils of war, want, and misery; solely actuated by motives the most disinterested and virtuous.

In short they have undergone trials and sufferings with a determined resolution and fortitude, unparalleled in history; and have submitted even to death sooner than stain their integrity, honour, and principled loyalty with the odious guilt of rebellion against their king.

Yet

Yet these very men, whose virtues and deserts are above estimation, have been publicly traduced, vilified, and defamed, with every species of obloquy and opprobrious epithet applied to them and their conduct, by the partizans of a ruinous faction in this country, for which they have shed their blood, and sacrificed their all.

There cannot be a doubt but the more worthy and principal part of the nation reprobated such conduct, not only as illiberal, ungenerous, and unjust, but impolitic also in the highest degree; for such subjects, as the American Loyalists, were highly to be prized in any government, and were certainly entitled to every protection and encouragement that this could bestow.

For no compensation whatever can be adequate to the loss sustained by these deserving men, not only of their possessions, and the society of their friends and relations, but of that apparently established felicity and affluence, which they themselves, and their posterity after them, had the prospect of enjoying for ages to come.

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